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THE EXPERIENCES OF FRENCH IMMERSION TEACHERS IN DUAL AND MULTI-TRACK SCHOOLS IN ALBERTA

BY

NICOLE LAMARRE

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.**

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

Edmonton, Alberta

FALL 1994

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **THE EXPERIENCES OF FRENCH IMMERSION TEACHERS IN DUAL AND MULTI-TRACK SCHOOLS IN ALBERTA**, submitted by **NICOLE LAMARRE** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES.**

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To Mel, Donald, Ann, Michelle, Lise and Céline

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to explore how French Immersion teachers at three school sites, one dual-track school and two multi-track schools, within a particular school district in the province of Alberta interacted to understand and improve their teaching practice in second language pedagogy. In order to increase the understanding of the subjective realities of the experiences of French Immersion teachers in this context, the design of the study was based on naturalistic inquiry. At each of the schools studied, seven or eight French Immersion teachers in addition to the three Anglophone principals, voluntarily participated in this study, bringing the number of respondents to a total of 26. Two-week blocks were spent in each of the three schools in the fall of 1990, and follow-ups in the form of one-week block visits were also made at each site in the spring of 1991. One of the main data collection techniques was the semi-structured interview, with the research questions serving as an interview guide. The format of the interview consisted of open-ended questions in order to avoid limiting participants' responses. In the case of two schools, a short questionnaire filled out by French Immersion teachers before the formal interview date was also used, and often served as a springboard to conversation at the start of an interview. The questionnaire was dropped in one school, because some teachers felt uncomfortable with disclosing some information on paper outside the realm of a face-to-face interview. Interviews were taped, transcribed, and returned to participants for accuracy of information. The other main data collection technique was that of non-participant observation, which was documented through the use of field notes. Non-participant observation occurred mostly in the staff room and hallways, and sometimes in the classrooms when the researcher was invited. The analysis of the data collected by way of interview or observation techniques was by means of content analysis. The major findings were organized into four broad areas: *Administrative and Leadership Issues*, *Political Issues*, *Cultural Issues*, and *Pedagogical*

Issues. There also existed some common underlying themes within and across all three sites, even though one of them was a dual-track school and the other two were multi-track schools. These were: *Marginalization*, *Vulnerability*, *Potential for Conflict*, and *Compromise*. Reflections on issues of instructional leadership, norms of collegiality, norms of achievement, and norms of continuous improvement in relation to French Immersion programming were also presented. One of the implications for practice and research was the need for French Immersion teachers to strengthen their professional autonomy to make informed instructional decisions by increasing their body of knowledge about second language pedagogy in general, and French Immersion teaching and learning in particular.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

The goal of French Immersion has been to generate functionally bilingual students. In 1988, Rebuffot reported that the annual rate of growth of schools offering French Immersion in Canada was approximately 12.2%, while the total number of schools remained generally stable across the country. This meant that while student enrollment had increased in French Immersion programs, it had also decreased in regular English programs. Most often, the single-track regular English school has been transformed into a dual-track school to house both the regular English and French Immersion programs. In a number of cases, the dual-track school has also been converted into a multi-track school when yet another bilingual or immersion program has been offered within a school.

Had French Immersion enrollments continued to rise, universities would not have been able to meet the demand for qualified French Immersion teachers. In 1989, Lapkin and Swain had identified an inadequate supply of qualified teachers as the most salient issue of French Immersion implementation in the 1990s. This problematic situation had considerable implications for the design of teacher education programs, not only in terms of preservice, but also of induction and inservice. In 1989, Calvé observed that many French Immersion teachers lacked training in second language pedagogy in general and in immersion pedagogy in particular. In addition, adequate materials suited to French Immersion students were not, and still are not as easily available as in the regular English programs. This special set of circumstances may have forced teachers to learn on the job and rely on others for assistance.

It is important to note that the French immersion situation has changed since the start of this study in the Fall of 1990 to present (Tardif, 1994). Although Rebuffot (1993) reported a slight increase in French immersion enrollment across Canada (including

Québec) in 1991-92, with 295 350 students enrolled in French immersion out of a possible 4 835 000, their percentage only represents a small minority of students across the country, i. e., 6.1%. Despite these statistics, it has become clear that Alberta has not only suffered through a "plateauing" of French immersion enrollments (Tardif, 1994), but has been experiencing declining enrollments and budgetary cuts over the past few years.

French Immersion has been one of the most researched experimental program across Canada (Tardif, 1991). However, several concerns have surfaced in regard to both the methodology and findings of this research. Because of the socio-political milieu surrounding its inception in Canada, almost all existing studies done on French Immersion are outcome-oriented in that their primary focus is on the academic achievement of French Immersion students in relation to their English counterparts (Lapkin & Swain, 1989; Tardif, 1993, 1991). Most of these studies have shown that French Immersion students perform as well if not better than their English counterparts after spending a few years in immersion programs; however, results are not conclusive.

Although outcome variables need further study, serious attention also needs to be given to process variables in immersion research. There are now researchers who advocate more qualitative research in the area of second language learning, by making use of ethnographic methodologies such as direct observation in schools, and more specifically in classrooms, over an extended period of time (Tardif, 1993, 1991). The main purpose of increasing qualitative research would be "to complement quantitative methodologies in order to capture the complex interplay between process and product variables" (Lapkin & Swain, 1989, p. 31). Some authors have begun to address " 'the something else' of second language teaching in general, and of immersion in particular" (Calvé, 1989). They are now faced with the difficulty of identifying the characteristics of immersion pedagogy. Tardif (1991) claims that even immersion teachers themselves cannot express what it is that makes their teaching practice unique. Yet, they are expected to create a generation of functionally bilingual individuals.

Other researchers are suggesting that teachers may come to a clearer and deeper understanding of their practice by means of collaboration. They also maintain that "administrators may foster collaboration by creating certain conditions that encourage teachers to develop 'shared working knowledge'--places and opportunities for teachers to talk, to work together, to develop understandings about their work, and to learn to live with one another's preferences" (LaRocque & Downie, 1994).

A closer look at the interactions of French Immersion teachers with their colleagues may reveal how they explore the use of effective teaching strategies in second language pedagogy and come to a better understanding of their teaching practice. An examination of their experiences in dual and multi-track schools in Alberta could bring to view the conditions or circumstances that encourage or hinder norms of collaboration in this particular context. Conclusions drawn from the proposed study could generate a number of propositions concerning teacher education programs for French Immersion teachers. Perhaps they could even shed some light on current practices of administrators of immersion programs in regard to continuing professional development, as viewed from the perspectives of the teachers themselves.

General Statement of the Problem

The purpose of the study was to explore how French Immersion teachers interact to understand and improve their teaching practice in second language pedagogy.

Specific Research Questions

The specific research questions addressed by the study were the following:

1. How do French Immersion teachers develop professionally in a dual or multi-track school in Alberta?
2. How do French Immersion teachers interact amongst themselves in a dual or multi-track school in Alberta?
3. How do French Immersion teachers interact with others in a dual or multi-track school in Alberta?
4. What are the salient issues identified by French Immersion teachers in relation to their work?

5. What circumstances or policies encourage or hinder the possible interaction(s) in questions 2 and 3?

Significance of the Study

By answering the above research questions, the information could prove useful to the following groups of educational practitioners in various ways.

Teachers may become informed of effective ways of sharing working knowledge with their colleagues in order to maximize both human and physical resources.

Principals may find shared working knowledge between teachers to be a useful and reassuring coping strategy in providing some sort of instructional leadership to their staff.

Administrators at all levels may become more aware of the problems encountered by French Immersion teachers, and therefore become more sensitive to their needs insofar as time and resources are concerned. They could recognize that these teachers' needs are sometimes different from their non-immersion colleagues and that their demands and concerns may be seen as "real" rather than based on grounds of special treatment or favoritism.

All concerned with the education of students in dual-track schools could benefit from understanding the socialization process that occurs between various staff members.

The results of this study may help in explaining the potential of a high rate teacher burnout and turnover of French Immersion teachers in the province.

This study may inspire other researchers to pursue further research on the "unrecognized functions" of French Immersion teachers or other aspects of immersion programs which are in dire need of research.

Delimitations

The study was delimited to three elementary schools in Alberta, one dual-track and two multi-track.

The study was delimited to the French Immersion teachers of each school staff, and the principal. All three schools belonged to one school jurisdiction.

Assumptions

A number of years of French Immersion teaching in Alberta prior to this study may have led me to some assumptions about other French Immersion teachers within dual or multi-track schools.

First, I believed that, as I had, participants may also have experienced a certain degree of isolation in their work place.

Second, because they did not always have ready access to the physical and human resources they felt they needed, they may have tended to search for ways to work together among themselves to survive at their job.

A third assumption I still maintained, even after I had recently done a study on the experiences of Anglophone elementary principals within this same context, was that most French Immersion teachers wished to work with at least one of the members of their school's administrative team who was committed to French Immersion programming on the one hand, and who held at least a basic knowledge of the French language and of the principles of second language pedagogy on the other hand.

Outline of Dissertation

Chapter One presents the statement of the problem, discusses its rationale and significance, and identifies the assumptions and delimitations of the study. Chapter II details the related literature based on the notions of *Educational Leadership*, *Professional Autonomy*, and *Professional development.* The methodology used in this study is described in Chapter III and the findings are presented in Chapters IV to VI. Chapter VII includes the summary of the findings, the underlying themes, reflections, and implications for practice and research.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to find out how French Immersion teachers interact among themselves and with others in dual or multi-track schools so that they may come to a clearer and deeper understanding of their work, and also become better at it. Also, I want to be able to identify what conditions, circumstances or policies within these schools encourage or hinder how teachers relate to one another on a professional level. Since I have recently completed a Master's thesis entitled *The Experiences of Anglophone Elementary Principals with French Immersion Programs*, I have become familiar with a number of studies dealing with French Immersion programs and second language pedagogy. However, few explicitly address the issue of *Teacher Interaction* in this particular context (Cleghorn & Genesee, 1984). This is why the literature review presented in this chapter is not specific to the French Immersion setting itself. However, it does deal with *Educational Leadership, Professional Autonomy,* and *Professional Developmen*t, notions I believed would help me in understanding what encourages or stifles interactions of French Immersion teachers.

The reason why I began to plan my study around the idea of *Teacher Interaction* is because the types of interactions occurring between educators in a particular school could have a considerable influence on the quality of education received by students. Indeed, norms of collegiality, norms of achievement and norms of continuous improvement which were shared amongst administrators and teachers have been associated with effective schools (Peterson, 1989).

The degree to which these practices take place appear to be contingent in large part upon the leadership styles of principals. Therefore, it is important to understand the educational leadership of principals and how they can cultivate and develop the instructional leadership of others. Herein is implied the notion of trust in the professional

judgement of the teacher in making competent instructional decisions. Alas, although teaching is said to be a profession, teachers are often viewed as semi-professionals. Conversely, teachers look to the principal for advice, but they are protective of their autonomy in terms of final instructional decisions (Bratlie, 1987, p. 6). In order to strengthen their professional autonomy, teachers must increase their body of knowledge of subject matter, students, and the purposes of schooling (Floden et al., 1987, p.7). Accordingly, this requires a considerable commitment on the part of districts [and teachers] to professional development. Otherwise, "in the absence of both strong leadership and [time, resources and institutional] support for well-grounded professional autonomy, content decisions are left to chance and whim" (Floden et al., 1987, p. 33).

From what has been said, the implications of educational leadership, professional autonomy and professional development upon the teaching practice are far-reaching. They may also serve to identify conditions which promote or hinder interactions of French Immersion teachers in dual or multi-track schools.

Educational Leadership

This section deals with the educational leadership role of principals and how it influences collegiality and the informal leadership of teachers.

School principals have long been recognized as managers; it is only recently that they have been perceived to be educational leaders. In fact, educational leadership of the school principal has been identified as a characteristic of effective schools (Estes & Crowder, 1987; Floden et al., 1987; Heuss & Psencik, 1986; Johnson, 1987; Larsen, 1987; McEvoy, 1985; Osborne, 1987; Stephens, 1987; Street & Licata, 1988; Wallace, 1984).

Educational leadership has been defined "as the initiation, implementation, and institutionalization of school-wide change that results in the improvement in student educational achievement and opportunity" (Stephens, 1987, p. 1). In other words, educational leadership is closely related to planned change, and the principal can be

viewed as a change agent (Fullan, 1982). Some believe that the principal has an obligation to "make a difference" in the school by providing leadership (Stephens, p. 1).

Although principals may rely on the assistance of teachers in regard to instructional matters, by promoting a collegial climate in their schools for instance, one might ask to what extent they must be(come) knowledgeable in areas of instruction. Some maintain that "the principal can neither manage nor lead if he or she lacks knowledge and skill in the area of instruction" (Stephens, 1987, p. 22). In particular, the Commission on School-Based Administration in Baltimore, Maryland, cited in Stephens (1987), questions the principal's ability to "promote positive instructional outcomes . . . to assess program relevance . . . to coordinate instructional programs and to take part in making instructional decisions . . . to plan, implement, and evaluate program change" (p. 22). Based on a review of the literature, Bratlie (1987) found that "instructional leadership is not the central focus of the principalship and that principals tend to spend relatively little time on instructional observation and supervision" (p. 3). Likewise, Bird and Little (1986) claimed that "teachers and principals do not often work together on classroom teaching and learning . . . [and] that few principals attend steadily to the important details of instruction" (p. 502).

Based on a synthesis of research done on instructional leadership of principals at the secondary level, Peterson (1989) concluded that norms of collegiality, norms of achievement and norms of continuous improvement which were shared amongst teachers were associated with effective schools. She found that these norms tend to enhance the flow of technical information and teacher motivation, because they serve as stimulants for effective interaction and behavior between staff members.

The onus on the educational leadership role of principals may imply a shift in the balance of power between their staff and themselves as they may choose to share their awesome responsibility by working with teachers in a collegial manner (Daresh, 1988; Peterson, 1989).

In short, the ways in which principals exercise educational leadership has a great influence on how they interact with teachers and how teachers interact amongst themselves. By fostering a climate of collegiality, principals can cultivate and develop instructional leadership in others (Peterson, 1989).

Collegiality

Norms of collegiality have been described as "shared expectations that teachers and other colleagues will cooperate, exchange ideas about teaching, and provide assistance when requested" (Peterson, 1989, p. 15). Where collegiality exists, the principal and staff make decisions together in relation to school-wide philosophy, objectives, policies and programs (Stephens, 1987).

In particular, school practices most likely to reflect norms of collegiality involve the following: "(1) specific staff discussion of teaching practices, (2) observing and being observed at work, (3) working together on plans and materials, and (4) learning from and with each other" (Bird & Little, 1986, p. 498).

Conditions which have been identified as being conducive to a collegial school climate are:

> When teachers and principals (a) describe and call for cooperative experimentation, (b) model that behavior themselves, (c) provide material support for those who experiment and collaborate, (d) reward those who join in the venture (and ignore or punish those who do not), and (e) defend colleagues when their initiatives are threatened. (Bird & Little, 1986, p. 498)

By sharing their leadership responsibilities, principals who work in the collegial mode empower teachers by giving them a sense of ownership in matters that will affect them most directly, i.e., instructional matters (Heuss & Psencik, 1986). Lawson (1988) defined "empowerment" as the "collective affect of leadership" (p. 5).

Collegiality, then, implies the decentralization of decision-making and a confidence on the part of administrators in the abilities of teachers to assume the responsibilities given to them (Lawson, 1988; Lyman, 1987). A collegial climate

encourages teachers to share their working knowledge with their peers, and creates an environment in which they can demonstrate their leadership qualities.

Teacher Leadership

Results from a three-phase study on the nature of extended professional roles in terms of leadership amongst Kindergarten to grade 12 showed that a high percentage of "teacher leaders engage in major leadership activities across most areas of the school program" (Hatfield, 1986, p. 15) such as curriculum, professional development, policy and evaluation.

Most of these teacher leaders had been appointed by administrators. Personal and professional qualities of the teacher leaders were identified as the following: "(a) adept in dealing with people; (b) skilled in communications (oral and written); (c) flexible, patient, objective; (d) competent in the subject field and respected by their peers; (e) organized; and (f) committed to the role" (p. 17)

Problems associated with the dual-role of classroom teacher and teacher leader were attributed to the lack of bureaucratic authority of the teacher leader (Hatfield, 1986; Little, 1985), the conflict between the administrative and teacher leader roles, the amount of responsibility assigned to the teacher leader, and the lack of release time (Hatfield, 1986). At the same time, it was found that teacher leaders, whom she refer to as teacher advisors, influenced other teachers through informal interaction (Little, 1985).

Little (1985) commented that "offering advice, especially unsolicited advice, runs counter to the valued, accepted, collegial behavior of teachers" (p. 36). She proposed three perspectives from which to look at the teacher leader role:

> (1) the advisor as a peer who models productive professional relations, offering assistance when asked; (2) the advisor as a staff developer or curriculum specialist who offers training and consulting on specific topics; (3) the advisor as a senior colleague whose demonstrated knowledge, skill, and energy warrant the rights to initiate and lead that go with the title of advisor. (p. 36)

Bird and Little (1986) reported that even though both teacher leaders and other teachers liked the idea of leadership roles for teachers, they preferred the notion of "facilitating" teachers rather than "leading" them. That is, they felt that facilitation connoted respect of teachers as persons and professionals, and suggested that advisors assist them without telling them what to do (p. 36). Again we encounter the implication of trust in the professional judgement of the teacher.

On the whole, increased opportunities for collaboration and professional development for teacher leaders could result in better utilization of in-school human resources and personal job satisfaction (Gilman & Sommer, 1988, p. 3; Hatfield, 1986, pp. 18-19).

Professional Autonomy

In this section the need for teachers to strengthen their professional autonomy if they are to make informed instructional decisions and to be given more decision-power by administrators is discussed.

Although teaching is referred to as a profession, it is often thought of as a semi-profession, mainly because it lacks a substantial, cumulative body of specialized knowledge and skill (Bird & Little, 1986; Troen & Boles, 1988).

Teachers learn how to teach by trial and error, and most often on their own; there are few provisions for them in terms of induction or inservices. Even pre-service education classes do not adequately prepare teachers for the reality of the classroom (Bird & Little, 1986). In most instances, the purposes of teacher evaluations are strictly bureaucratic. On the one hand, they do little to assist teachers; on the other hand, they are not used to remove incompetent tenured teachers (Bird & Little, 1986; Troen & Boles, 1988).

These circumstances have led to teacher isolation. "That isolation, which sometimes is regarded as a teacher's right also cuts them off from support and recognition" (Bird & Little, 1986, p. 494). Teacher isolation may suggest teacher

autonomy in the sense that "teachers maintain independence in exercising discretion within their classrooms to make instructional decisions" (Street & Licata, 1988, p. 5); however, it does not necessarily equate with professional autonomy as teachers do not contribute to the body of knowledge of teaching. As Bird and Little (1986) pointed out: "In most schools, there is no substantial body of shared and handed-down wisdom about teaching, the means to accumulate it, or the means to transmit it to novices" (p. 495). In fact, teacher "isolation is increased by norms of autonomy" (Bird & Little, 1986, p. 498).

The problem of teacher isolation is also compounded by the fact that there are few opportunities for teachers to move on the career ladder, no matter how much they increase in experience and skill (Troen & Boles, 1988).

It was Floden et al.'s (1987) contention that the recognition that both the principal and teachers are key players in instructional improvement "forces us to reject the dichotomy between control [by way of mandates] and autonomy" (p. 6). However, despite the current educational trend towards collegiality, "the reality is that schools are organized in a way that prevents interactions" (Troen & Boles, 1988, p. 5). That is why Bird and Little (1986) suggested that "schools were made; they might be remade" (p. 495).

Schools might be remade if they could be compared to "learning laboratories" wherein "testing ideas [happens] on an ongoing basis" (Troen & Boles, 1988, p. 6). Teachers would be given opportunities for professional development within the school to allow them time for dialogue, reflection and experimentation (Troen & Boles; Fullan, 1982). In a similar vein, Gilman & Sommer (1988) promoted professional development programs which would offer "follow-up practice, coaching and peer support" (p. 2).

As a rule, teachers are protective of their autonomy in terms of final instructional decisions (Bratlie, 1987, p. 6). In order to strengthen their professional autonomy, teachers must increase their body of knowledge of subject matter, students, and the purposes of schooling (Floden et al., 1987, p. 7). Accordingly, this requires a

considerable commitment on the part of districts [and teachers] to professional development.

Professional Development

Various conceptualizations and dimensions of professional development are outlined in this section. In addition, professional development is discussed in the contexts of planned change and organizational culture. Finally, coaching is used as an illustration of a promising method of intervention used to understand and improve teaching practice.

Both in the United States and in Canada, educators are subjected to rising public expectations, declining resources, and increased public criticism (Bush, 1984; Gilman & Summer, 1988). The strive for quality education and excellence in teaching has given professional development "both its importance and its urgency" (Harris, 1980, cited in Gilman & Smuck, 1988, p. 1; Wallace, 1984).

Although Professional development was one of the major educational growth industries of the 1980s, it continues to be designed and implemented as the traditional annual two to four-day workshop, with no follow-up more often than not (Parkay & Hoover, 1986; Steffin & Sleep, 1988). However, studies show that "the mere representation of teacher effectiveness research findings at 'one-shot', didactically structured Staff Development workshops does not convince teachers to use research as a basis for behavioral change" (Parkay & Hoover, 1986, p. 2). Given these circumstances, how do teachers grow professionally and strengthen their autonomy?

In spite of the large number of publications of a prescriptive nature on Professional development, there is little conclusive research on its content or/and its outcomes (Yarger, 1982, cited in Wallace, 1984).

Conceptualizations of Professional Development

The terms "professional development," "staff development" and "inservice" are utilized interchangeably in the literature. Some authors preferred to use the term

"professional development" rather than "staff development" "because the former highlights the status of educators as professionals, rather than employees" (Fielding & Shalock, 1985, p. 5). Others viewed "staff development " or "professional development" as an umbrella concept with "inservice" its subset (Daresh, 1988; Rogus, 1985). For the purposes of this review of the research literature, I have and will continue to refer to "professional development" in this way.

Professional development has been defined as any or all activities carried out by the district or the school to promote staff growth and renewal (Larsen, 1987; Rogus, 1985); it is also seen as having personal, role, and institutional dimensions (Gilman & Smuck, 1988; Rogus, 1985). Inherent in this definition is the inclusion of both formal and informal activities.

Informal activities are described as "day-to-day activities that have developmental effects upon staff" (Rogus, 1985, p. 91), while formal activities are defined as "planned program efforts that are personalized to the growth needs of individual staff members" (Rogus, 1985, p. 91). Formal activities might be conferences, school observation, curriculum committee involvement, consultation with peers, and inservice participation.

Although other authors also recognize that professional development can occur by accident (Fielding & Shalock, 1985, p. 5), they still emphasize its "intentional and purposeful nature" (Duquette, 1983; Fielding & Shalock, 1985, p. 5). On the other hand, because informal activities can help in shaping teachers' attitudes towards formal activities, Rogus (1985) identified them and teachers' involvement in program decision-making as having "powerful professional development implications" (p. 8).

Regardless of whether professional activities are formal or informal, teachers as adults learn by doing and in situations where social interactions take place (Rogus, 1985; Wallace, 1984).

Dimensions of Professional Development

Professional development of educators can be viewed as a shared responsibility between post-secondary institutions, local, regional or provincial/state agencies and professional associations (Wallace, 1984), and teachers themselves, of course.

An example of a cooperative effort to implement a professional development program is the degree-granting Professional Development program which was designed between the Roosevelt School District in Nassau County, Long Island, New York, and the Urban Education Department of the University of Massachusetts' Division of Instructional Leadership. The following statement reflects the jointly articulated beliefs of the two organizations:

1) Staff Development is defined as activities designed to expand competencies of personnel in an organization over time.

2) Staff Development is comprised of planned steps based on needs and goals of participants, communication of positive reinforcement, and shared responsibility for improved senses of enhanced individual effectiveness and institutional learning climate.

3) Staff Development necessarily involves the following four processes:

   a) Creating synergy from professional and organizational developments.

      - mutual benefits for those involved.

      - both institutional direction and personal growth.

   b) Fostering adoption and adaptation.

      - emphasis on communication and group processes.

      - connecting diverse groups in new alliances.

   c) Valuing characteristics of successful changing organizations.

      - leadership, goal clarity, high standards and expectations.

   d) Committing priority resources to equity needs.

      - not to leave anyone out but to recognize special places for traditionally disenfranchised groups. (Byass, 1984, pp. 2-3)

Likewise, Fielding and Shalock (1985, p. 5) identified the basic dimensions of professional development as follows:

1. The general purpose to be served by a program.
2. The context in which a program is to take place.
3. The background and characteristics of program participants.
4. The specific objectives of a program.
5. The procedures used to accomplish objectives.
6. The costs and benefits of a program.

The dimensions of professional development, as proposed by Fielding and Schalock (1985), are reminiscent of the contributing factors to successful organizational change, as recognized in the literature on planned change.

Professional Development in the Context of Planned Change

Planned change implies a vision. "Vision articulates why we are here, where we are going, and what we are all about" (Heuss & Psencik, 1986, Abstract; Steffin & Sleep, 1988, p. 11). The success of a program is contingent upon whether administrators and teachers share a common vision (Peterson, 1989; Steffin & Sleep, 1988); without it, "staff development is seriously undermined" (Steffin and Sleep, 1988, p. 11).

Educational change also depends upon what teachers do and think (Fullan, 1982, p. 263). Therefore, Fullan (1982) not only asked "What is educational change," but also "What is teacher change" (p. 263). According to him, "professional development, when it occurs, implies, of course, that there has been or will be some development, some change" (p. 264).

Based on the view that change involves both what a teacher thinks (new beliefs, philosophy, theories, knowledge, attitudes, etc.) and what a teacher does (use of new materials, new skills, new behavior, etc.), when teachers participate in professional development activities, they may transform their beliefs and behavior (Fullan, 1982; Fullan et al., 1981). Because teachers are required to translate educational policies into

classroom practice, professional development activities should be based upon the problems of the teachers and take into consideration their psychological needs (Johnson, 1987; Thompson & Cooley, 1984, cited in Gilman & Smuck, 1988).

Factors contributing to successful professional development change, then, are closely related to the characteristics of a successful implementation process. These were identified as the following:

> (1) that professional development must focus on a need; (2) that the emphasis on inservice education on the part of the school district in relation to principals and teachers is essential; and (3) that teachers must have the opportunity to interact with each other, share ideas, and help one another, and must have some external assistance from the principal, district consultant, or others outside the school. (Fullan, 1982, p. 264)

A study of a client-centered professional development program showed that two of the five characteristics of effective staff development were that: (a) "Teachers participate as helpers to each other and to the planners of Staff Development activities" (p. 3); and that (b) "Teachers share with one another and provide mutual assistance" (Parkay & Hoover, 1986, p. 3). This collaboration amongst teachers suggest notion of trust and openness. These, however, are often problematic issues for some teachers, who may be threatened by professional development processes (Gilman & Smuck, 1988, p. 1; Lyman, 1987, p. 6).

Specifically, factors linked to the failure of professional development are a lack of teacher control, a mismatch between professional development goals and teachers' intents and value systems, a difficulty in effecting long-term changes in teacher behavior, and a problem in providing proof of such changes (Parkay & Hoover, 1986, p. 1). Professional development activities are often made up of a "series of disjointed workshops, lectures or consultations" (Celso & Morris, 1985, cited in Gilman & Smuck, 1988, p. 2; Lanier, 1984, cited in Wallace, 1984), instead of a series of integrated events which have been designed as part of a plan of action. Because Professional development is thought of as an event and not a continuous process, there is little follow-up of its activities. School

systems, if they are truly committed to professional development, should provide teachers with the means, time, opportunity and materials necessary to follow-up their professional development activities (Bird & Little, 1986; Gilman & Smuck, 1988).

From what has been said, the extent to which "professional developmental activities succeed is the extent to which the change succeeds" (Fullan, 1982, p. 264). The extent to which professional development succeeds is dependent in large part upon the organizational culture of a school district and/or school.

Organizational Culture

Inherent in organizational culture is the idea of a shared vision or values amongst school personnel. In order to develop this shared vision or meaning, staff members must feel that they work in a safe environment. They must also be given opportunities to interact and discuss professional issues and instructional matters, especially when they are required to do something new.

Fullan (1982) stated that "educational change involves learning how to do something new. It is for this reason that if any single factor is crucial to change, it is professional development" (p. 257). However, he added that "teaching . . . suffers from the lack of opportunity that teachers have as individuals and particularly in interaction with other teachers to reflect, to observe, to discuss, to plan" (p. 259).

Gibboney and Gould (1987) pointed out that "it seems that thought--ideas—grounded in concrete school situations has taken flight from practice" (p. 7); that we are not willing "to test the worth of our ideas in practice" (p. 7) through the process of reflective teaching or administering. Yet, to allow a reflective process to take place in a school is to allow meaningful changes to develop by empowering both teachers and administrators. Gibboney and Gould (1987) believed that empowerment was the primary aim of professional development.

However, before getting involved in professional development for the purpose of empowering teachers and administrators, one must first begin to understand how schools

really work, and where the teacher fits into this bureaucratic institution. Lieberman & Miller (1984), (cited in Fielding and Schalock, p. 7) pointed out that "much of the current literature on staff development emphasizes the need to understand the social systems or subsystems of the school."

One way to understand or view how schools work is through the eyes of Rosenblum and Louis (1981), (cited in Firestone and Wilson, 1983). They described "linkages" as "those mechanisms in schools that coordinate the activities of people who work there" (p. 1). Further, Firestone and Wilson (1983) affirmed that

> the relationship between linkages and instruction work in a variety of ways. Generally, bureaucratic linkages establish constraints and opportunities on how teachers teach. Cultural linkages shape what teachers want to do or how they take advantage of those constraints. (p. 10)

These authors claimed that "such linkages are changed by the principal's symbolic activity" (p. 2). They defined "culture" as "the subjective side of the organization . . . the system of publicly and collectively accepted meanings for the activities of a group of people" (p. 5). They argued that "strong cultures with appropriate content [which refers to the meanings that are shared] can promote school effectiveness and that principals can contribute to the meanings" (p. 6). However, they suggested that "it is difficult for teachers to develop a strong binding culture of any kind; there is too little interaction for strong shared beliefs to develop" (p. 6).

Similarly, Ripley (1990) pointed out that Deal and Kennedy (1983), "stressed the importance of school cultures, defining the notion informally as 'the way we do things around here'" (p. 3). They saw school culture as comprising the following elements: (a) shared values and beliefs — the "soul" of the culture; and (b) rituals and ceremonies — "opportunities for the values of the culture, its heroes and heroines, to be celebrated and to be reinforced" (p. 3).

One ongoing professional development activity which promotes organizational culture in schools is that of coaching, which is discussed next.

Coaching

There are a number of publications which address the issue of professional development, most of them are prescriptive in nature. However, there is no reliable information about the content and outcomes of professional development (Bird & Little, 1986; Yarger, 1982, cited in Wallace, 1984). Because it is based upon research studies, one exception might be the work of Joyce and Showers on coaching (Wallace, 1984).

Coaching is the process whereby one teacher teaches while another teacher observes and records the teaching, "so that both can analyze the practices employed, compare them with alternatives, assess the actual or potential consequences of using one practice rather than another, and draw conclusions" (Bird & Little, 1986, p. 501).

Bird and Little (1986) presented the four following conditions of effective coaching:

> (a) If coaching is to occur, the teacher must *defer* in some way to the coach's assertion.
>
> (b) If coaching is to improve teaching (it can be made worse), the coach must *display* the competence asserted.
>
> (c) If the coaching is to make a difference, the teacher must *respond* to the coach's assertions by changing his or her behavior, materials, role with students, or perspectives on teaching, learning, and students.
>
> (d) *The coach's performance must improve with the teacher's*, and by essentially the same means. (p. 502)

The process of coaching has several requirements. First, a reciprocity in motives should exist between the teacher and the coach, so as to avoid the possibility of exploitation of one of the teachers. Second, a knowledge of professional language should be shared between the coach and teacher. Finally, coaching requires time allotments within the school day for observation, discussion, etc.

According to Bird and Little (1986), "Schools are not yet organized either to hold teachers accountable for their work or, more important, to support them in mastering it" (p. 503).

Equally important is the recognition that "studies of formal teacher teaming and interdependence among teachers provide reason to believe that the few schools are not flukes but are merely the most striking instances of organizing processes and possibilities present in many schools" (Bird & Little, 1986, p. 498).

Conclusion

In sum, teacher norms of collegiality, achievement and continuous improvement are associated with student achievement and effectiveness of schools. These norms are largely dependent on the instructional leadership role of the school principal.

School principals can do much to reflect these norms by encouraging a collegial climate in their schools. Collegiality suggests a willingness on administrators' part to share their decision-making powers, especially with respect to instructional matters. In doing so, principals show confidence in the professional judgment of teachers. In turn, as teachers share their working knowledge about teaching, they help strengthen their professional autonomy, not through isolation, but by contributing to the body of knowledge of teaching. The extent to which principals share their leadership powers with teachers and to which teachers interact amongst themselves about their teaching practice may be encouraged or hindered by the kinds of circumstances and policies established by school district and school level administrators.

Professional development activities which take place in the context of planned change is seen as crucial if teachers are to learn something new, and therefore grow professionally. For meaningful professional development to occur, the problems and psychological needs of teachers must seriously be taken into consideration. Teachers must be informed about the purposes and potential outcomes of professional development activities. In the context of French Immersion, one might ask how French Immersion

teachers develop professionally in a dual or a multi-track school in Alberta? More specifically, what might be the salient issues they identify in relation to their work, and are these acknowledged by administrators and professional development committees?

The extent to which professional development succeeds is dependent upon the organizational culture of a school district and/or school. Inherent in organizational culture is the idea of a shared vision or values amongst school personnel. In order to develop this shared vision or meaning, staff members must feel that they work in a safe environment, and be given opportunities to interact and discuss professional issues and instructional matters, especially when they are required to do something new. One wonders if this is the case for French Immersion teachers in Alberta. How do they interact amongst themselves and others in a dual or a multi-track school in Alberta? Do they in fact share a common vision and set of values with their non-immersion peers?

Those are the main issues I wish to explore in this study. The manner in which I conducted my research is discussed next.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the study was to explore how French Immersion teachers interact to understand and improve their teaching practice in second language pedagogy.

Paradigm

The design of the study was based upon the interpretive paradigm with the purpose of shedding light on the meanings and understandings of the subjective realities in the work of French Immersion teachers. I conducted an on-site research at three schools which offered French Immersion programs to elementary school children. Wolcott (1982) described this style of "on-site" research as one which has as a central concern: "'I [the researcher] am a camera'; all description of social action from view of the actor" (p. 162).

The study was not meant to lead to a set of recommendations based on hypothesis testing, but rather to develop a number of propositions concerning the potential of shared working knowledge among French Immersion teachers in Alberta. It is one small contribution to add to the little but existing knowledge on the context of French Immersion teaching in Alberta. Perhaps, it will inspire teachers to design their own collaborative models of learning and teaching.

Research Design

The research study was not an ethnography, but was rather "a case of something, one individual through time" (Wolcott, 1982, p. 162). However, while undertaking the case studies, I did make use of ethnographic research strategies. The case studies were focused on teachers of French Immersion programs housed in dual and multi-track schools.

Selection of Study Sites

Partially based on the information provided in the *List of Alberta Elementary Schools Offering French Language Programs Under Sections 5 and 6 of the School Act 1988/89*, I selected participating elementary schools upon the criteria that:

1. They were dual or multi-track schools elementary schools in Alberta.
2. They had a reasonable balance between the two or three language programs.
3. They had at least one fourth to one third of their student population enrolled in French Immersion.
4. They offered French Immersion programs that went from Kindergarten to Grade 6.
5. They were situated within proximity of the University and my residence.
6. They were administered by Anglophone principals.
7. The principals were able to identify informal teacher-leaders from the French Immersion programs.
8. The principals were very receptive toward the study proposal.
9. At least half of the French Immersion teachers at each school were willing to participate in the study.

The rationale for setting some of the above-mentioned criteria is based upon the following assumption: There might have been a heavy reliance on the part of Anglophone principals upon informal teacher-leaders with respect to French Immersion matters, as they may not have been familiar with French language or second language teaching methodologies (Lamarre, 1989). This, in turn, may have prompted teachers of French Immersion programs to interact amongst themselves about their teaching practice, instead of turning to their principals for instructional leadership.

When making decisions about the selection of school sites, I also relied on the recommendations provided by a professor from Faculté St-Jean, who had been heavily involved with many schools which offer French Immersion programs in the province. At

the start of this study, she had been working as a Faculty consultant and practicum coordinator for at least ten years.

In October of 1990, I visited the principals of five dual and multi-track schools which met the first six criteria in order to make sure principals and French Immersion teachers also felt the study was worthwhile on the one hand, and to get a sense of whether these schools varied greatly from one another on the other hand. In other words, I considered a number of dual and multi-track schools in the beginning stages of my study for the purposes of a pilot study and additional information in relation to "determin[ing] if there [was] any variance in responses between two or more schools" (Mackay, 1990, handout). Although it was more time-consuming to visit more than one school at first, it gave me the opportunity to choose between the following options: (a) to use some of the schools for piloting purposes only; (b) to use data from one school to support or contradict data collected at another; or (c) to use data from more than one school on an equal footing, therefore turning the research into a multi-case study.

Of the five principals visited, four principals showed great interest in the study; the other informed me that his school was already involved in three research projects or studies. Even though I had first thought that I would conduct a single case study, the overwhelming response from the four schools and their seemingly contrasting features convinced me to do a multi-case study. During the week following my initial visit at each school, principals discussed my proposal with their staff. Following this staff meeting, French Immersion teachers communicated their desire to participate or not in the study to the principal. In some cases, the principal then gave me the names of the participants over the phone. At that time, I asked each principal to nominate a teacher who would be willing to play the role of liaison between the participants of his or her respective school and myself. Shortly after, I contacted each liaison person to arrange for a meeting to take place between the participants and myself.

The purpose of the meeting was to introduce myself to the participants (see Appendix A), to discuss the extent of their involvement in the study, to reassure them of confidentiality, to set up meeting times, and to ask them to fill out a short demographic questionnaire. Based upon Haughey's (1976) study on consultative practices, I also asked teachers to fill out a short questionnaire on their interactions with colleagues (see Appendix B). Answers to these were elaborated upon by the participants during formal interviews. In one of the three schools, some participants objected to the questionnaire; therefore, I did not make use of it there.

In a general way, these procedures were followed in all four schools but one. In one case, the liaison person did not feel comfortable with my study even if her principal did. Also, it became very difficult to set up mutually convenient times for telephone calls and meetings to take place between the liaison person and myself and the participants and myself. These factors led me to drop this school from my study.

Data Collection Techniques

Once in-person contact had been established between each group of participants and myself, I began weekly on-site visits to each school until early November of 1990. Because I was expending energies between three schools every week, I was finding it difficult to get to know each group of participants and to gain a sense of what was happening at each school. At the same time, having become familiarized with case-studies done by Craig (1984), Everett-Turner (1985), and Tardif (1984), and having had the opportunity to discuss my data collection techniques with them, I decided to spend two-week blocks in each of the three schools before the Christmas vacation instead of conducting weekly visits in all of them, and follow-ups in the form of one-week block visits to each school in the spring of 1991, after I had done a preliminary analysis of the data.

In order to obtain the needed information, the design focused on in-depth interviews and non-participant observation, i.e., one wherein the "observer (is)

acknowledged but (remains) uninvolved" (Wolcott, 1982, p. 162) during extended on-site visits. The observations were documented through the use of field notes.

Both tape-recorded (formal) and non-tape recorded (informal) semi-structured interviews were conducted during the study. The format of the formal interviews consisted of open-ended questions so as to reduce the likelihood of directing, controlling or narrowing information that could potentially arise from participants. The specific research questions outlined in this study served as an interview guide. Additional questions were based on a short questionnaire participants were willing to answer in two of the three schools, and on observations of teacher interactions on my part.

The kinds of information I attempted to elicit from the participants were concerned with the nature of their interactions amongst themselves and other colleagues within or outside of the school. In particular, I encouraged them to provide examples of professional experiences which they had shared or share with other teachers in the school. I asked them about the extent to which such instances occurred, how long they had worked closely with other teachers, the reasons for the exchange of information and/or resources between certain teachers, the conditions which were conducive to such interactions, their opportunities for professional development, the availability of physical and human resources, and the like.

All participants were interviewed formally once during the study. The length of the interview and the degree to which they revealed information were dependent upon each individual, and to some extent upon each school. Taped interviews varied from 30 minutes to an hour in a half in length. The interviews took place in the language of preference of each participant. Of the 23 interviews I conducted with teachers, only two chose to speak in English. Tape-recorded interviews were transcribed both by professional typists and myself. Following this process, the original transcripts were then sent to the participants to check for accuracy of information. They had the opportunity to

add, modify or delete any part of the transcripts with which they did not feel at ease. In addition, they were asked to provide clarification, where necessary.

The request of one of the three principals to participate in an interview prompted me to conduct formal interviews with all three principals concerning the notions of professional development and informal leadership.

Informal conversations with the participants about what I heard them say or what I saw them do in terms of their teaching practices, as well as observations of teachers interacting with others in formal or informal situations, were also recorded in my field notes. Formal situations consisted of scheduled meetings and the like. Informal situations included impromptu conversations in the hallway and/or the staff room. Observations of informal situations were conducted immediately before and after school hours and during recesses and lunch hours. It is during this time that most interactions of French Immersion teachers took place amongst themselves and others in the staff. The purpose of these observations was to find out what kind of interactions and teacher-talk occurred between teachers. For example, did teachers talk about their weekend plans or did they talk about instructional matters? If they discussed instructional matters, did they share the same professional language? These observations were also useful to me in confirming or reinforcing what teachers told me during the formal interviews. I attended any staff meeting that was scheduled during my on-site visits at the schools. I was also engaging in as many informal chats with teachers about their teaching practices as I could while still respecting the normal flow of conversation.

During follow-up visits in the spring of 1991, participants were asked if my interpretation of the data collected during formal and informal situations were true to them.

Inference-Making System(s) and Data Analysis

The analysis of the data collected by way of interview or observation was by means of content analysis. Transcripts were color-coded with various highlighter pens by

school and by participant. All transcripts belonging to one particular school were analyzed in full before proceeding to those of another school. Transcripts were first read and analyzed one at the time. Every piece of information or issue discussed by each participant was then identified, recorded and classified accordingly through a systematic cutting and pasting method using file index cards and "post-it" notes. This method permitted me to easily regroup information and/or issues raised by more than one respondent. This regrouping of information and issues emerging from the data began to form the basis for categories and sub-categories within and across each school. These were also recorded and filed on index cards. Afterwards, themes representing underlying messages which were common to French Immersion teachers' experiences within and across each of the three school sites were identified.

Methodological Rigor: Trustworthiness

To ensure trustworthiness of the data analysis, I resorted to methods that would justify credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as recommended by Guba and Lincoln (1991, 1985, 1982, 1981) in their articles on naturalistic inquiry.

To ensure credibility, I conducted member-checks by asking participants to verify if the data collected, and my interpretation of them, were true to the teachers. With respect to transferability, the numerous on-site visits provided many illustrations of what the teachers said they experienced at work, so that readers can judge the meaningfulness of the findings for their particular contexts. To ensure dependability, I made provisions for an audit trail in the form of a researcher journal in which I have kept track and discussed my thoughts and ideas in relation to my interpretations of, and actual analysis of the data. As well, I conducted a number of peer debriefing sessions with members of my supervisory committee and some other teachers of French Immersion and English programming. My journal and field notes were used to ensure confirmability in the study.

Ethical Considerations

Permission to conduct the study has been sought through the appropriate administrative channels.

Each school principal and liaison person had received a copy of my study proposal which they were asked to discuss with teachers who were interested in it. As well, teachers were given a biographical outline of the researcher and copies of relevant pages of the proposal specific to the background, a general statement of the problem, research questions, the significance of the study and the research design. I also conducted a meeting to present my proposal to each group of interested teachers and to answer any questions or address any concerns that they had.

Teachers were asked to submit their names to the principal if they wished to participate in the study. In addition to their verbal agreement, participants were required to sign a written consent form. Provision for teachers to exercise their right to opt out were included in the form. Participants were given the opportunity to review transcripts of their tape-recorded interviews.

The actual names of the school district, three school sites and twenty-six participants were altered to ensure anonymity. Fictitious names were given to all three schools and twenty-six participants. Pseudonyms of participants only include a given name, and are not preceded by the term "Teacher." However, to distinguish between teachers and principals, given names of principals are preceded by the term "Principal." Certain demographic data and specific characteristics of each school were not be revealed in the final document in order to ensure confidentiality. Participants have been guaranteed that I will not divulge specific information that they have entrusted to me to any of their colleagues, superordinates or any other person.

It is under these conditions that I share with the reader the findings of this study in Chapters IV, V, and VI.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS: ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEADERSHIP ISSUES

Many participants at all three sites were concerned with an apparent lack of commitment to, and a perceived lack of understanding of French Immersion programming on the part of district senior administrators, and some school-based administrators. Frequent mention was made of a lack of human and/or physical resources.

Yellow Ash School

Some teachers were under the impression that many district and school-level administrators did not believe in and did not understand French Immersion programming. They thought the program was tolerated simply because of parental demands. They especially felt this lack of commitment during and shortly after the implementation of the French Immersion program at Yellow Ash School. To some participants, the former school administrators' lack of knowledge of French Immersion programming needs was apparent in the hiring of personnel, and in the lack of identification and coordination of French Immersion classroom and library resources. Many teachers expressed a need for more physical and human resources and increased administrative support in terms of accessing these.

The reader may note that Elise and Francine voiced their concerns about administrative and leadership issues to a much greater extent than the other participants at Yellow Ash School. This could be attributed to the fact that they were well-established teachers both within the school system and the school on the one hand, and to their outgoing personalities on the other hand. Most participants pivoted around Elise and especially Francine. That is why I came to view them as spokespeople for those participants who were newer to the school or who had not yet secured a position within the school system. Hence, the majority of the discussion about Yellow Ash School in this section revolves around Elise's and Francine's views, or is devoted to Francine's transition

from a position of informal to formal leadership, in the absence of the desired administrative support.

Some teachers believed that administrators were not committed to French Immersion programming, nor did they understand it . Each explained why they held this opinion.

Denis saw senior administrators as "rebelling at the idea" of French Immersion schooling, and found this to be "repugnant," especially given their high-ranking positions within the hierarchical school system. Since it was they who were at the helm of the boat, he stressed the difficulty in reconciling their philosophy of French Immersion schooling with the rights of students to this form of education. He expressed his concerns vis-à-vis what he viewed as a "deplorable" situation in the following manner:

> Il y a beaucoup de personnes, même encore dans le système, puis des hauts-placés, qui sont très rebels à l'idée des écoles d'immersion, qui n y croient pas beaucoup et puis qui sont là, et puis qui "run la business," qui "run" le bateau. Alors, c'est très dûr entre philosophie et droits, à qu'est-ce qu'on a droit, à qu'est-ce qu'on a pas droit et tout cà, de voir des personnes . . . C'est déplorable de voir des personnes si haut-placés qui ont une attitude aussi répugnante.

Denis' position was supported by Francine, who questioned the paradoxical nature of their espoused philosophy and its translation into practice. She believed that their offer of the program was solely motivated by parental demand, and would eventually disappear. She also predicted budgetary reductions if and when a decreased need for the program occurred. She shared her thoughts on the matter as follows:

> On nous dit qu'on veut un programme d'immersion. On nous dit qu'on veut telle et telle chose, mais quand tu vois toutes les choses qui se passent, ça va contre notre philosophie, ça va contre tout ce qu'ils disent. Ne pense pas qu'ils y croient vraiment--vraiment. Ils donnent un programme aux parents parce que les parents le veulent, mais si à un moment donné, le besoin ne serait pas aussi grand, je pense qu'on se ferait couper des affaires . . . venant du bureau central. Il y a beaucoup de directeurs, disons, le programme qu'on a à l'école, mais pour dire qu'ils y croient vraiment?

To some teachers, it was not only senior administrators who did not believe in French Immersion schooling. According to Francine, it was true also of some school

principals. Although she believed that her principal would do everything in his power to meet program needs and ensure its smooth functioning, it was not, in her opinion, because he truly believed in a bilingual program or that children should become bilingual, but it was only because the program happened to be in his school. She explained her point like this:

> Comme le principal ici, je ne pense pas qu'il y croit vraiment. Il l'a dans son école, alors il va tout faire pour arriver à répondre aux besoins puis que ça marche bien parce qu'il l'a dans son école. Mais pour dire qu'il croit vraiment en un programme bilingue, que les enfants soient bilingues, je ne pense pas qu'il y croit vraiment.

In Francine's view, the lack of belief in the program by Anglophone school principals was coupled with a lack of understanding of the program, and to her, both were sources of problematic situations. In addition, Francine believed that Anglophone principals of French Immersion programs did not view problems in the same way as French-speaking teachers and/or administrators. She elaborated upon these points by saying that:

> Et puis de vraiment donner de l'appui aux profs parce que vraiment, finalement, les directeurs anglophones, le comprennent pas, y croient pas puis ça cause des problèmes. Ils ne voient pas les problèmes de la même façon que nous.

Elise recalled earlier years when the school was experiencing growth in the French Immersion program. At that time, the message she clearly perceived on the part of a previous administration was that "it was really opposed to the program" and merely tolerated French Immersion teachers simply because of parental demand. To her, this opposition to the program was "flagrant," although it was not communicated verbally, but rather through "body language"; it left her with a strong sense of "feeling unwanted," which she expressed by saying:

> L'école a grossit très vite. Le programme d'immersion était là puis vraiment on avait l'impression dans le temps que . . . On est là parce que ce sont les parents qui nous demandent d'être là. On n'est pas voulu. La direction était vraiment contre le programme d'immersion. C'était flagrant même si ça ne se disait pas. Tout le côté "body language," ça se voyait

> très bien. "Vous êtes ici simplement parce qu'il y a des parents qui vous veulent!"

Some participants contended that the lack of belief and understanding of program needs on the part of central office and school administrators was evident in the lack of overall coordination of program needs and human and physical resources during the implementation of the French Immersion program at Yellow Ash School. They offered a number of examples to support this claim.

Upon her arrival at this school, Francine had taken for granted that the French Immersion program would already be in place. She had assumed "that there must be someone knowledgeable, who could implement everything in a new school." However, "it was not the case," as Francine put it below:

> L'école était toute neuve quand je suis arrivée. Moi je suis arrivée. . . On commençait notre xe année ici et puis j'ai pris pour acquis quand je suis venue que le programme serait vraiment en place parce que je pensais vraiment qu'il y avait des conseillers au centre-ville. . . Il devait y avoir quelqu'un qui s'y connaissait, qui pouvait tout implanter pour une nouvelle école. Je ne savais pas que ce n'est vraiment pas le cas.

She acknowledged that her belief that "all would be in place" when she first arrived at this school was "a little naïve." She had thought that the implementation of a program would be similar to the opening of a store, whereby "there are experts who come and put everything in place" to ensure smooth functioning. Instead, she saw certain consultants, or anyone for that matter, come into the school to prescribe year-level resources, and no more, as expressed below:

> On met quelque chose en place et puis certains conseillers-conseillères, n'importe qui vont rentrer puis vont dire: "Vous avez tels et tels matériaux, alors vous aurez besoin de telles et telles ressources," mais c'est à peu près tout.

Francine reported that a few people had followed through on recommendations for resources from central office personnel, but that there was not any "one devoted and very knowledgeable person, who wanted to help" the ordering and locating of materials and overall coordination of program needs in the school itself. Teachers were not being

able to locate resources as these would be scattered about in the school. Due to the fact that support personnel, like the school secretaries, were unilingual, there was no way to discover whether particular resources had actually been ordered for the French Immersion program. She related that:

> Pas de ressources, les ressources étaient éparpillées partout dans l'école. On ne savait pas si les ressources n'avaient jamais été commandées même, parce que les secrétaires étaient toutes anglaises, alors, il n'y avait aucune façon vraiment de même leur demander des questions. Elles ne savaient absolument rien.

Everyone seemed to have to fend for oneself: "Le monde doit se débrouiller," for the sake of survival, including herself, who was inexperienced at teaching multi-level classes at the time. She explained by saying:

> Quelques personnes avaient pris, disons, tu sais, avaient commandé certaines ressources à partir des conseils du centre-ville alors tout le monde cherchait. Personne ne savait si les ressources étaient rentrées ou non. Il n' y avait vraiment personne de dévouée, vraiment personne qui s'y connaissait, qui voulait aider. La plupart des gens faisaient leurs petites affaires juste pour y arriver, pour survivre, moi incluse. Ma première année, je ne m'y connaissais pas. C'était la première fois que j'avais enseigné à ce niveau.

The lack in the identification and coordination of French Immersion resources during earlier years of the program had also clearly left Elise to manage on her own. Although one of her colleagues had taught, and still did, a French Immersion class at the same year level as Elise, the latter found it tremendously difficult to request from her certain needed resources simply because Elise could not clearly identify whether these were the school's property or whether they were part of her colleague's personal collection of materials. In Elise's view, the pervading philosophy at the time was that of a small school, wherein everyone had one's small things in one's classroom whether they had been purchased by the school or not and no control was exercised to find out what belonged to whom. She elaborated on the subject like this:

> Alors je suis allée [enseigner] en xe année, puis le prof qui était là, à ce moment-là, en xe année, avait tout le matériel dans sa classe et c'était très difficile de lui demander: "Est-ce que je peux avoir telle chose, est-ce que je peux avoir telle chose "pour des raisons très simples: Je ne savais pas si

> c'était son matériel personnel au si c'était le matériel de l'école. C'était vraiment, dans le temps, c'était vraiment la philosophie d'une petite école. Tout le monde a ses petites choses dans sa classe, même si c'était l'école qui a payé pour. Il n'y avait aucun contrôle sur le matériel pour savoir à qui c'était, tu sais, quoi était à qui eh . . . puis alors, c'était vraiment difficile à savoir là, qu'est-ce que je peux utiliser, qu'est-ce que je ne peux pas utiliser.

It was when faced with this situation that Elise proceeded to develop her own material from scratch. In her colorful words, she said:

> Quand je suis arrivée, c'était vraiment les débuts de l'école, tu sais. Ça faisait seulement x ans que c'était ouvert. Par rapport, comme je t'ai dit hier, au matériel à l'école, il y en a pas, alors, oublie tout ce qui était en français dans le temps. J'ai fait tout mon matériel moi-même quand j'ai commencé. . . . Alors à ce moment-la, je suis partie moi avec rien. J'ai commencé . . . J'ai tout fait, tu sais, du découpage, du collage, du colioriage, j'en ai fait(e)! En veux-tu, en voilà!

In addition to the lack of resources in the classroom, there also existed a lack of library resources in French. Having had easy access to French resources in the past, Elise found this reality very difficult to deal with. Even though she had seen some improvement in regard to resources at this particular school over a number of years, she still believed it to be inadequate to meet program needs. She maintained that:

> Puis c'était difficile pour ça parce qu'il n'y avait pas de matériaux dans l'école. Il n'y avait quasiment rien en français. La bibliothèque en français, ce qu'on a, je ne sais pas si tu as regardé? Ce n'est pas beaucoup, mais c'était la moitié de ce qu'il y a maintenant. C'était la moitié dans le temps, alors il n'y avait pratiquement rien. Alors moi qui [avait accès] à tout. . . . Tu arrives ici, il n'y a rien, je ne peux plus rien utiliser. J'ai vraiment trouvé ça difficile sur ce côté-là.

Francine commented that expenditures were indeed being made to buy resources with gifts from parents; however, the costs of books were extremely high. The fact that the program of studies had been modified over the last number of years did not help the matter in that new textbooks and books had to be purchased.

Despite these difficulties, Francine conceded that progress had been made in terms of the building and coordination of resources at the school in the past decade. To facilitate the location of resources, all new materials were catalogued through the school

library before reaching individual teachers and classrooms. Francine's comments were as follows:

> Ce n'est pas qu'on ne dépense pas. On dépense beaucoup--beaucoup, mais tu sais les livres sont tellement coûteux. On a beaucoup de ressources qui sont dans les classes qu'on a passé à travers de la bibliothèque parce que les parents nous donnent de l'argent à tous les ans . . . en cadeau . . . parce qu'ils font toutes sortes de [I: Relève de fonds?]. C'est ça, puis à un moment donné, ils nous donnent de l'argent. Alors on passe beaucoup de choses à travers de la bibliothèque et puis les profs sortent les ressources et puis ils les gardent dans leur [propre] classe. Comme tous nos dictionnaires, nos Bescherelles, tout ça, on le fait à travers de la bibliothèque et puis c'est rentré. Mais tu sais, en fait d'encyclopédies, c'est beaucoup mieux que quand je suis arrivée. Aussi, il faut penser, ilfaut comparer que comme école, on est encore très--très jeune parce qu'on ne fait que fêter notre [xieme] anniversaire alors comme programme, c'est encore jeune. Tu aimerais avoir tout en marche là, mais tu te dis un petit peu à chaque année et puis ça n'a pas aidé que le curriculum ait changé. Puis là, il faut commander des nouvelles ressources alors ça n'aide pas parce que l'argent n'est pas là, alors petit-à-petit, tu t'avances.

Sometimes, it was not sufficient to acquire and coordinate physical resources, if the human resources were not available to put them to use. This point was illustrated by Francine, who recounted how the school tried to accommodate special needs students who were registered in the French Immersion program. She described how French Immersion teachers were promised a resource room for their students by a previous administrator, but how he did not fulfill his promise because the numbers did not warrant the cost. Finally, after his departure, funds were acquired and allotted to the purchase of French special needs resources, such as textbooks and testing kits. Following this, the school librarian spent three-quarters of the school year working with French Immersion students with difficulties, but only with very few of them. Subsequently, although some students would have benefited from a resource room and physical resources had been acquired, there was no available personnel to fill the position of resource room teacher. Francine explained:

> Comme je sais [qu'Elise] trouvait vraiment qu'il [un des anciens administrateurs] n'était pas pour le programme puis moi qui a toujours trouvé l'opposé. Il voulait . . . il voyait toutes les lacunes. Il voyait, tu sais, le manque d'argent et tout le reste qui allait avec . . . À tous les ans, il nous promettait une salle de ressources, mais jamais est-ce qu'on arrivait à

> l'avoir parce qu'avec deux enfants, trois enfants seulement, ça ne se fait pas d'avoir une salle de ressources. Puis finalement l'année qu'il est parti, on s'est ramassé de l'argent puis on a acheté toutes les ressources dont on avait debesoin. Et puis cette année, il n'y en a même pas, parce qu'il y a personne pour le faire. Il faut dépenser 3 000,00$ pour des ressources que pour l'orthopédagogie. Tu sais, des textes qu'on peut employer seulement pour ça . . . Puis j'ai des autres ressources, tout le reste là et puis des kits pour faire le testing, tout--tout--tout--tout. L'année passée, on a eu une salle de ressources pour trois quarts de l'année. C'était la bibliothécaire qui le faisait, mais seulement pour quatre enfants. Ça fait du bien quand même là mais ce n'est pas assez d'année en année. Puis cette année, on ne l'aurait pas eu sauf qu'on n'avait pas de personnel pour le faire. Alors, il y a toujours ça aussi qui rentre [en jeu].

Regarding the filling of positions, Francine added that because of their lack of knowledge of the program needs, principals would usually hire the first teachers they could find based upon criteria such as how available or pleasant they would be. She said that:

> Puis on embauche des profs. Les directeurs, d'habitude, n'ont pas vraiment . . . eh . . . comment dirais-je? . . . Ils vont interviewer des personnes, mais pour dire qu'ils s'y connaissent vraiment, ils ne s'y connaissent pas, alors ils embauchent les premières personnes qu'ils trouvent peut-être plus disponibles, plus agréables, quelque chose comme ça.

Hence, teachers were sometimes assigned courses for which they had had no training or experience.

Especially during these instances, some teachers felt that their needs could have been better met by means of increased teacher collaboration and administrative support. They provided examples whereby they could have benefited from receiving more assistance, feedback, and reassurance that they were doing a good job.

Elise talked about how badly she had felt a need for support during her first year of teaching, and how she had wanted to leave the school upon not receiving it. She described how everyone did one's thing and how no one helped one another. She

commented upon "the need for someone who supports you, and who tells you: 'You're doing a good job, keep it up, it's going well'." She said:

> Tu n'as aucun support. Tout le monde fait sa petite affaire. Personne ne s'entraide. Il n'y avait aucune entraide, tout le monde faisait ses affaires puis quand tu commences, tu as besoin de quelqu'un. Tu as besoin de quelqu'un qui te supporte. Tu as besoin de quelqu'un qui te dit: "Tu fais un bon job, continue--ça va bien." Tu sais, une fois de temps en temps, ça fait du bien de savoir ça. Alors je voulais partir.

She felt this apparent lack of support particularly strongly when she was assigned to teach English Language Arts to another class. She reported the unwillingness of "the English side" to share anything, and how she "had not a single English book" as a resource "because everyone kept everything in one's classroom." She would request something of her Anglophone colleagues and she would be told: "No, don't touch this, this is only for us, get your own." She described herself as being without an English Language Arts textbook and how she was once able to land a book on phonetics in the form of a little collection of books. Those were the sole resources with which she had to manage on her own.

> Je n'avais pas le manuel. Non, j'ai attrappé un livre de phonétique à un moment donné, puis j'ai attrappé un petit livre à la bibliothèque là parce qu'il y avait une petite série de livres puis je les ai pris. Tu sais, c'est avec ça qu'il fallait que je me débrouille.

She remembered how during mid-school year, one member of the school administration came to see her and stated questionably: "You have problems in English [Language Arts]?," to which she answered:

> To begin with, I have no training in English. In addition, I can speak English [minimally], but I did not find it amusing to have its teaching imposed upon me. Also, when you begin [teaching] you have no idea about what you must do. (Translation)

Subsequent to this discussion, Elise did not receive any further feedback of any kind from the school administrators: no resources, no classroom observation, no formal evaluation and no support. Finally, three-quarters of the way through the school year, Elise asked one of the administrators if he should not pay her a visit in her classroom for

purposes of a contractual offer/renewal. His response was: "Ah, no problem, no problem, I see you come and go in the school, I know you work hard, I've received no negative comments from parents, everyone seems satisfied with you." That was the extent of the evaluation of Elise's performance. To her, it exemplified the administrators' approach to communication which she saw as "cold, you know, everything is fine, you know, [as long as] we don't bother each other." She had found this type of working environment which she had experienced during her first year of teaching as insufferable, and had desperately hoped for a self-initiated transfer to another school, but to no avail.

During her second year of teaching at the same school, Elise felt the lack of support in the school as a whole even more deeply, especially in relation to student discipline and parental conflict. This time, parental dissatisfaction combined with a 2-week sick leave due to stress forced the administrator not only to step into the situation, but into Elise's shoes. It was he who had to manage her class during her departure. It was only then that he finally realized that she "had a difficult class." Once again, although her evaluations and recommendations were all positive, Elise still felt a lack of support. Her need for support can be more strongly felt in the participant's own words:

> Je n'avais aucun support jusqu'à un moment donné, quand il est arrivé des gros conflits avec des parents. Là, tout d'un coup, le directeur s'en est mêlé, parce que c'est lui . . . parce que j'ai manqué deux semaines d'école. J'étais stressée, je n'en pouvais plus. Je suis allée chez le dentiste. J'avais la mâchoire toute prise à cause du stress, parce que je m'étais ouvert la bouche pendant une demie-heure. C'est ça, je n'étais plus capable. J'étais stressée, stressée au bout(e). J'attrapais tous les microbes imaginables. Pendant deux semaines, je suis allée à la maison puis c'est lui qui se débrouillait avec ma classe. Il s'est aperçu, à la fin de cette année là: "Oui, tu avais une classe difficile." "Bien, oui, je me débrouille, je fais ce que je peux." Puis en tous les cas, tout ça pour dire quand même qu il m'a donné . . . Toutes mes évalutions, mes recommendations étaient toutes positives, mais aucun support de personne.

The concern for more feedback, in the way of support or evaluation, was not unique to Elise within the school district. Although André had received "a report that was pretty positive" at a previous school, he never found out the reasons why his temporary contract was not renewed.

It was partly this perceived lack of support which prompted Francine's gradual transition from a position of informal to formal leadership.

After a number of years at her previous school of teaching at the same grade level with no possibility of a change, Francine saw professional improvement as the only way to better herself. She considered workshops, courses, out-of-school committee work, the addition of subject areas every year, and the like. However, there was little or nothing else to take advantage of on the "French side" of professional improvement; therefore, she opted to develop her skills on the "English side." She got involved with enrichment and music programs to grow professionally.

Within the school itself, there was little or no opportunity for informal or formal leadership for Francine, as there were already many leaders, who seemed "to be stepping onto each other's toes, which left no chance for her to try or do little things." She said:

> Et puis aussi, on était beaucoup de "leaders." Alors ça n'aidait pas. Pas qu'on se marchait sur les pieds comme tel, mais il y en avait tellement que toi, tu n'avais jamais la chance d'essayer ou de faire de petites choses.

It was upon this realization and within these circumstances that Francine decided to accept an offer to teach at Yellow Ash School, still within a French Immersion program.

Along with one of the administrators at her new school, Francine began "to put everything in place" because they both were unable to locate existing resources within the school or anyone who was knowledgeable about them within the school. To her, it was a matter of survival. She had been extremely troubled by "a program which runs so badly because no one wants to work and believes in it." In her own words, she asserted that:

> On a commencé à tout mettre en marche et puis moi, plus pour moi-même, d'une façon là, pous survivre parce que je voulais absolument avoir des resources et tout le reste et après ça, c'est parce que ça me démangeait quelque chose de grave tu sais. Je me disais: "Mon Dieu, avoir un programme qui marche si mal parce que personne ne veut travailler, veut . . . n'y croyait pas." Ça ne me faisait pas, parce qu'il faut toujours que tout soit bien placé pour moi puis que je m'y connaisse.

A few months later, upon one of the administrator's and Francine's initiative, a storage room had been found for French resources, teachers were consulted about what

resources they had in hand and what had occurred in the past, etc. Slowly began a sharing of resources among teachers of combined classes, for example.

In addition to the question of resources, another deciding factor in Francine's involvement as an informal leader was the missed opportunity of attending a workshop of great interest to her because channels of communication about these matters had usually halted at the school administrators' desk. It was at that point that Francine requested all information pertaining to French Immersion be forwarded to her; the administrators accepted. Previously such information had been placed on his desk or tossed in the waste-paper basket, although at the time someone had been supposed to coordinate all communication coming from central office. She explained that:

> Chaque fois qu'il y avait quelque chose, [Nom du directeur] me donnait la paperasse parce qu'il n'y avait même pas quelqu'un pour s'occuper de la paperasse. Alors souvent c'était mis sur le bureau ou à la poubelle. Avec [Nom du directeur précédent] alors c'était mis là . . . dans le coin, à quelque part là puis c'est ça qui m'a décidé une bonne journée. C'était le fait que j'avais manqué un atelier auquel j'aurais beaucoup aime assister mais personne nous l'avait dit. Alors, à ce moment-là, je lui ai demandé si je pouvais tout avoir. On avait quelqu'un supposément dans le temps, qui était supposé de tout coordonner toutes les communications du centre-ville mais jamais que ça se faisait.

During her five years of so of knowing one of the district-wide consultants, Francine had to come to respect her greatly and to want to become like her. She explained how she adored her and saw her as a "goddess" because she was so knowledgeable, in the following words:

> Ça faisait déjà trois ans . . . bien non, c'était ma cinquième année que je connaissais une des consultantes et puis je l'adorais . . . C'était comme une déesse . . . Elle s'y connaissait tellement bien et puis tout le reste. Je voulais être comme elle tu sais, tout connaître, tout savoir.

Given that Francine had not been satisfied with the person in charge of the in-school Enrichment program and that the person in question did not wish to attend a one-day professional development day in this area, she offered to take his place. It was then that Francine had a chance meeting with a district-wide consultant who would encourage

her to take on the position of school coordinator for the implementation of the 1988 French Immersion Language Arts program. She recalled her chance meeting like this:

> On a commencé à se parler et puis elle m'a dit qu'elle était pour mettre en marche, au mois de janvier, une position de coordonnateur/coordonnatrice pour ceux qui étaient intéressés et qui voulaient y assister. C'était encore un peu dans les airs. Ce n'était pas certain . . . certain de leur affaire, mais c'était surtout pour implanter le nouveau programme. Ils voulaient sensibiliser les gens et puis tâter un peu pour voir là et elle m'a demandé si je voulais m'y joindre? Puis je lui ai dit: "Oui, j'aimerais beaucoup." A ce moment-là, elle a contacté le directeur de l'école, mais parce que ça faisait déjà un an que je travaillais dans l'école, de façon bénévole juste parce que ça m'agaçait de pas voir les choses bien faites, quand elle a contacté mon directeur qui a dit: "Bien oui, pas de problèmes." Il n'a même pas demandé aux autres s'ils voulaient, à ce moment-là. Ça a causé des petits problèmes.

Up to that point, she had put in many hours of school-wide volunteer work because "it bothered [her] not to see things well done." Because of this, her administrators readily approved her involvement as French Immersion school coordinator, although other teachers were not asked whether they would have liked to have a chance at this position as well, which caused her some minor problems with a few colleagues.

According to Francine, the assignment of teacher-coordinators of the new French Immersion Language Arts program within schools across the district was very well received by all principals, who had found it helpful with internal and external communication both at the school and district levels in terms of "paperwork, communication between teachers, communication between district expectations and what was occurring in school and with the new program." To her, "it seemed that it was the first time that there was a real exchange of communications, advice, problems between [district and schools]." She maintained that:

> Tous les directeurs avaient trouvé que ça avait vraiment aidé avec la communication, la paperasse au centre-ville, la communication entre profs, la communication entre les attentes du district et de ce qui se passait dans les écoles et avec le nouveau programme et tout le reste. Puis on dirait que c'était la première fois qu'il y avait vraiment un échange de communications, de conseils, de problèmes, entre les deux.

Although the district only sponsored school teacher-coordinators of the new French Immersion Language Arts program during its initial year of implementation, most schools opted to maintain these positions the following year. It was then that Francine was allotted one hour per week to work as the French Immersion program coordinator.

Francine conceded that this time allotment was "nothing really," but acknowledged that "it was at least something" and "it was recognized in a more official manner." She noted that the position had always been recognized by the "French side," irrespective of its status, informal, official, paid or unpaid, but that its official status was seen in a better light by the "English side." She asserted that:

> Alors, la plupart des écoles . . . même si ce n'était pas subventionné l'année d'ensuite, ont décidé qu'elles garderaient les postes de coordonnateurs/coordonnatrices. À ce moment-là, ce n'etait pas payé, mais le directeur m'a alloué une heure par semaine pour faire le travail. Ce n'est rien dans le fond quand tu y penses mais c'était au moins quelque chose. C'était reconnu de façon plus officielle. Du côté français, ça n'avait jamais fait une différence, que ce soit informelle, officielle, payé ou non. Du côté anglais, c'était mieux vu d'une façon plus officielle.

Contrary to a previous school at which Francine worked, she felt acceptance of her position as French Immersion program coordinator because "she had been willing to do supplementary work and others had been ready to let her do so."

> Puis les gens m'ont toujours accepté parce que j'étais prête à travailler. J'aime ça. Puis eux-autres étaient prêts à me laisser faire là, comme je te dis, c'est pas comme ça dans toutes les écoles.

Because Francine had been the teacher-school coordinator of the French program and she had demonstrated interest in administration, one of the past administrators had invited her to take part in the school-wide budgetary and decision-making process affecting the organization of classes, the resource room and the like. Based upon the needs of the school and the budget, the past school administrator and Francine devised some strategies as to what they would do in terms of class level organization the

following school year. In the end, it was Francine "who made all the decisions," as seen below:

> En parlant du budget, parce que j'avais été coordonnatrice puis que j'étais intéressée à l'administration, [Nom de l'administrateur précédent] m'a invité à faire partie de tout le processus du budget et tout le reste. Alors, c'est moi qui a décidé comment organiser les classes, décider si on était pour avoir une salle de ressources ou non. Finalement, c'est moi qui a pris toutes les décisions. Et puis on en a parlé après pour voir, parce qu'on avait des stratégies finalement mais c'était à partir du budget, à partir de ce qu'on avait de besoin puis on avait dit qu'on ferait telle et telle chose.

The following school year, however, a transition in school administration occurred, and although Francine was still recognized as French program coordinator by the new administrator, budgetary decisions which had been reached by the prior administration remained uncertain.

Concerned with having all her work undone and recognizing that teachers really needed direction in terms of the French Immersion program, Francine convinced the new administration that the school needed a French program coordinator, irrespective of the status given to this position. She made a case for school leadership in immersion by saying:

> Budget or no budget, I want to do it [be the French program coordinator] anyway. The need is there and I really don't want all the work that I have already done to be undone or lost. Also, people [teachers] really need direction. It takes something, and I'll do it on a volunteer basis anyway. (Translation)

It was then that the school administration assured her that something would be worked out, "since it was not fair that [she] do all this [coordination] work in addition to [her regular teaching] work." Therefore, a few months later, she was allotted one hour and a half per week of "free time" to do the French program coordination work. She considered this time allotment minimal given the responsibilities she fulfilled: Planning the "scope and sequence" in Science and Social Studies for combined classes, doing an inventory of resources, purchasing resources, organizing school-wide cultural activities, giving advice to teachers, assisting Francophone teachers with their English skills, etc.

She tended to these responsibilities while still trying to pursue her own professional development activities.

Subsequently, Francine's involvement with the coordination of the French Immersion program and her expertise in non-immersion areas were further recognized and she was offered formal initial leadership positions, which she accepted.

In Francine's opinion, her transition from an informal to a formal position never affected the way her French Immersion colleagues viewed her; she had always felt their acceptance, no matter her status, perhaps with the exception of one or two people. In fact, she believed that given that she was "most involved" and "willing to help," her colleagues were ready to entrust administrative matters to her entirely. She affirmed that:

> Du côté français, jamais est-ce que ça a fait de différence, excepté [avec] une ou deux personnes. Mais vraiment est-ce que ça fait une différence que je sois officielle ou non officielle, informelle, payée ou non payée. Ça n'a jamais fait une miette de différence d'une façon ou d'une autre. Les gens m'ont accepté comme ça. Et puis, vu que j'étais quelqu'un qui était plus impliqué, qui voulait plus aider, eux étaient très prêts à s'en laver les mains et de se fier à moi dans tout--tout--tout.

Helena's comments seem to support this view of Francine:

> Moi, je ne crois pas qu'elle ait changé parce qu'elle a toujours poussé le programme de français. Maintenant OK, elle peut continuer à le pousser, et ce n'est pas comme elle est completement en charge de l'école. . . . Ce n'est pas à elle de nous donner plus d'argent pour les programmes de français ou quelque chose comme ça. Je ne vois pas de gros changements.

She conceded, however, that Francine's support had always been considerable, irrespective of the status of her leadership position.

On the other hand, Francine's official status as formal leader contributed to greater acceptance on the part of Anglophone teachers. In some cases, because the school administrators had always referred to her as "coordinator" or "person in charge," it had been assumed that she had already been recognized by central office and paid for her work as coordinator. Although this was not the case, this assumption was helpful in having her Anglophone colleagues perceive her in an official manner. There were others,

however, who did not give her any credibility until her official status was confirmed. She maintained that these teachers "did not listen to [her]" or would complain that she favored the "Francophone group" over them.

> Du côté anglais, ça a été mieux une fois que ça ait été reconnu façon plus officielle de certaines gens. Ils y en avaient qui, vu que [le directeur] m'appelait toujours "coordonnatrice" ou "en charge du programme", ils me voyaient déjà de façon officielle et eux prenaient pour acquis que j'étais déjà payée pour ou reconnu au centre-ville pour ça, mais ce n'était pas le cas du tout. Pour eux, ça marchait très bien. Ils m'acceptaient comme ça. Ils y en a d'autres qui, avant que je ne sois reconnue de façon officielle. Ils ne m'écoutaient pas ou eh . . . "a dit ça là" et puis souvent on trouvait que le groupe francophone était plus choyé des fois, qu'on poussait plus et puis qu'on recevait plus. Ce ne l'était pas finalement, pas du tout, mais quand même tu sais: "Ah oui, Those Frenchies. Encore une fois", ça causait des petits problèmes.

Francine recognized that her most recent formal position gave her more "clout" than previous ones. She appeared appreciative of the fact that the present administration would, at her request, do all that it could to meet the needs of the French Immersion program, if she were to return to a formal leadership position of lesser "clout."

Foreseeing her possible departure from her school, Francine had already made a point of encouraging and training certain French Immersion teachers to assume responsibilities related to the school's French Immersion program. She said that: "En sachant d'avance que je ne serai pas là, [dans l'avenir] on a commencé à entraîner et encourager certaines gens, pour pouvoir prendre la relève." Despite the fact that these teachers did not view themselves as potential leaders/administrators, Francine recognized in them needed qualities for such a position like organizational and planning skills.

> Comme [Elise], elle ne se considère pas comme une personne administrative du tout, mais elle l'est parce qu'elle aime que tout soit organisé et elle aime bien organiser les choses elle-même et puis planifier et puis prendre les choses en main quand ça ne marche pas et petit à petit . . . on va la convaincre.

Already, she had slowly convinced Elise to consider taking on partial responsibilities vis-à-vis the French Immersion program. Although Elise showed much potential for an

eventual leadership position, Francine also recognized in her a need for greater diplomacy in her rapport with others.

> Elle a beaucoup changé d'idée, pourvu que quelqu'un d'autre fasse une division, elle serait prête à faire, tu sais, soit la première-deuxième, mais au début, elle ne voulait rien savoir du tout--du tout--du tout. C'est un peu parce qu'elle a eu des mésententes avec certains gens et puis ça, ça n'a pas aidé. Et puis surtout le fait qu'elle est très . . . eh . . . tout est très à point avec elle, tu sais, de façon finesse, ce n'est pas son type. Quand elle a quelque chose à dire, elle te le dit à ta face . . . BANG, tu l'as et puis elle l'oublie puis elle s'en va! Mais c'est pas tout le monde qui peut prendre ça. Alors, c'est de ce côté là qu'il faut vraiment la minoucher là et puis l'entraîner petit à petit, mais elle va être bonne à la longue, tu sais, mais j'ai pas grand temps à l'entraîner!

Even though Francine felt pressured by time constraints to prepare Elise for leadership responsibilities, she felt confident about Elise's knowledge about the needs of the programs. Francine made sure of that by working closely with Elise and by encouraging her to attend various workshops designed for different levels of teaching. She maintained that:

> Mais vu qu'elle a travaillé beaucoup avec moi, elle s'y connait beaucoup, et puis on a pris des ateliers l'année passée ensemble, et puis on est allé à différents ateliers aussi pour pouvoir combler tous les besoins parce que pas tout le monde pouvait y aller. Alors, à ce moment là, on a choisi différents ateliers, à différents niveaux pour essayer de répondre à tous les besoins. Alors, elle s'y connait pas mal bien.

Because of her increased involvement in the school, Elise talked about how people saw her as getting into the field of administration. To her, her interest in administrative matters had evolved in a very natural way. Her motivation to pursue administration appeared to be intrinsic: "[She] wanted to give to others what [she] herself [had needed] and not received; no one had helped [her]." She felt moved when she saw incoming/beginning teachers struggle as some of her colleagues were. She found so "cruel" and "terrible" to see them "pull their hair out" that she wanted to help them. She explained why people saw her as being bound toward administration like this:

> Surtout cette année, les gens me voit vraiment m'en aller en administration, juste par la façon que je suis impliquée dans l'école. Mais je pense que c'est une chose qui est arrivée tout à fait naturellement. . . . Je trouve tellement . . . qu'est-ce que je n'ai pas eu là, je veux le donner aux

> autres. Il n'y a personne qui m'a aidé. Je trouve que c'était tellement cruel que du monde comme [Denis] puis . . . sont en train de se tirer les cheveux, je trouve ça épouvantable de les voir aller que, je veux les aider. Puis ils me voient faire des choses comme ça puis ils se disent: "Bien [Elise] elle, a s'implique puis eh . . . elle va aller en administration."

Elise also mentioned the encouragement and support given to her in regard to administration both by Principal Al and Francine. However, although Elise listened and found their views interesting, she did not quite feel ready yet to fulfill administrative responsibilities. She said that:

> Comme je te dis, tu n'es pas la première puis c'est pas nécessairement ça. Je ne me vois pas, puis je l'ai dit à [Francine] puis à [l'administrateur]. Il m'en a parlé de ça, il dit: "Si tu as des aspirations, viens me voir, je vais t'en parler, je vais te conseiller des cours, des choses comme ça." J'ai dit: "Non, non, j'en ai assez dans mon assiette maintenant. Je pense que je ne suis pas prête encore, peut-être plus tard, laisse moi le temps de respirer un peu là . . . mais pas pour l'instant. J'aime bien ce que je fais maintenant, c'est tout, pour l'instant c'est tout." Puis [Elise] me disait la même chose. Elle a dit: "Toi je te vois dans cinq, dix ans certain que tu vas être rendue à ma place." Puis, je pense que l'amitié que [Francine] et moi on a, ça aide beaucoup. Elle est tellement impliquée dans ça puis tu sais, j'écoute puis je trouve ça interessant.

Francine had set for herself and reached the goal of working in a formal leadership position. She "had always wanted to orient herself toward the practice of administration because she truly believed that there existed a great need to develop the program and make it grow." She had delayed her application for a leadership position as she had always been told not to count on obtaining a leadership position solely because administrators were needed on the "French side." She related that:

> Quand j'ai fait ma demande comme [poste de leadership] je ne l'avais jamais essayé avant parce qu'on m'avait toujours dit: "Juste parce que tu es du programme français, puis juste parce qu'on a vraiment besoin" parce qu'on nous dit qu'on a besoin de personnes administratives du côté français "Ne pense pas que tu vas l'avoir juste à cause de ça." Alors je m'étais toujours dit: "Je n'essaierai pas, je n'essaierai pas" tu sais.

Francine recounted that when she finally put in an application for a leadership position, the school administrator had lent her his support when drawing up the résumé, and he had strongly advised her to emphasize all her competencies, skills and prior curriculum work done on the "English side" rather than on the "French side." Her school

administrators had told her that "central office [personnel] do not recognize that one has as many competencies in French as one has in English." This view had troubled her and the school district had greatly disappointed her in this regard, as expressed below:

> Ça me cause des problèmes, des ennuis. Je suis très déçue avec le district de cette façon-là. . . . On a toujours mis l'emphase sur le côté anglais. Et puis, c'est grave de faire ça, mais il dit: "Au centre-ville, ils ne reconnaissent pas que tu as autant de compétences en français qu'ils vont en avoir en anglais." Il te demande toujours "Have you done curriculum work?" A tous les jours!

Francine reiterated that although one may have done curriculum work in French, central office personnel did not view it as important as having developed the same skills/competencies in English. Francine could not help but think to herself that people who held such views were "dumb" and "hypocritical."

> Même si c'est en français, tu en fais quand même, mais ils ne le voient pas comme aussi important qu'avoir développé autant de compétences que si tu l'as fait en anglais. Et puis, tu sais, je me disais toujours: "Maudit que vous êtes niaiseux, maudit que vous êtes hypocrites.

These seemingly loaded words were expressed by Francine as she was explaining that she had been advised of the strong possibility of her obtainment of a formal leadership position at a single-track English program school. When discussing what could have been thought of as a promotion, Francine broke down in tears when conveying the deep and profound hurt she was feeling about her possible assignment in the following words:

> For me . . . it hurts me. It's because I tell myself that it's been x years that I've been working for that [administering a school housing a French Immersion program] because I really believe in it and I truly want to . . . and [now] we'll take it away from me!! because it isn't important? It's really too bad/sad, but they [central office personnel] say that: "If there's a position somewhere--yes, most probably you'll go," but "Don't hope. There's very little hope." It's not only that. . . . My training is in immersion; my belief is there. . . . You know, taking it away from me, it's nevertheless a part of me also because I am Francophone, you know. . . . IT'S NOT FAIR! that we're put in a school where no one believes in it or . . . that's what will happen. (Translation)

Despite her strong feelings about the situation, Francine in a way resigned herself to it and went about preparing herself for a leadership position in a unilingual Anglophone school. She explained how at the time of our interview, she was responsible for English instruction on the "English side." She also acknowledged some differences in curriculum between French Immersion and regular English programs. For example, French Immersion students were expected to master certain French Language Arts concepts such as punctuation before English program students did in their English Language Arts class. In Social Studies, more themes were expected to be covered by Division I students who were in the regular English program as compared to the French Immersion children.

Because of some of these differences, Francine could see how training and experience restricted to French programs only would perhaps not be enough. However, in her case, she had done a lot to balance her skills in both programs, as mentioned below:

> Je peux voir pourquoi ils trouvent que ce n'est pas assez . . . d'être . . . d'avoir une formation sur le côté français, ça prends, tu sais, le reste. Et puis j'en ai. Je ne peux pas dire que je n'en ai pas, j'en ai beaucoup-beaucoup pour essayer de me balancer partout là parce que je veux vraiment une position.

"In a way," for Francine, to accept a formal leadership position in a single-track Anglophone school after having had expended so much work toward the French Immersion program, would be "the end of the world." To her, it would be like "losing everything and having to start all over again." At the same time, it would not be enough for her to give up her goal of being a school administrator. However, she admitted that "compromises hurt anyway; [they hurt] a lot." She affirmed that:

> Mais je me dis que j'ai tellement travaillé pour le reste que pour moi, mon Dieu, tu sais, ça serait, pour moi d'une façon, la fin du monde. Tout perdre ça puis tout à avoir à recommencer à un moment donné, mais en même temps, ce n'est pas assez pour me faire démordre. Je veux vraiment un poste d'administration, alors tu sais. . . . mais les compromis font mal quand même, très mal.

Indeed, the possibility of working as an administrator of a unilingual-Anglophone school was worrisome for Francine after all the work she had put forth toward French Immersion, which she did not want to see go down the drain. In her opinion, having no one who was there to believe in it and take care of it, was very damaging to the French Immersion program, as she stated below:

> Alors ça va bien aller. Je n'ai pas besoin de m'inquièter quand je vais partir parce qu'elle va prendre tout en main-là. Veut--veut pas, elle va le faire, ça va bien marcher. Alors eh . . . on verra. C'est une inquiètude d'une façon et puis après tout le travail que j'ai fait, je ne voudrais pas que ça tombe à l'eau. Parce que ça endommage le programme tellement quand il n'y a pas quelqu'un là pour y voir puis y croire que, tu sais.

Principal Al considered the identification of teachers with leadership abilities and the encouragement of these teachers to pursue formal leadership positions a very important mandate of his role as administrator. He commented on the necessity of "providing these teachers with the kinds of experiences, that they can get into and need in order to then take that next step someday and get into administration." He further noted that:

> There's an expectation in our whole school district that the principals of the schools not only to identify people who have formally applied for leadership, but to encourage people to apply . . . and some people need encouraging, you know, and to provide them with experiences in the schools to give them the sorts of on-hand experiences that they need.

These "on-hand experiences" ensured that teachers taking on leadership positions "don't go in absolutely cold" and that "they go into these leadership positions pretty well having a pretty good set of skills already in place."

Principal Al reiterated that "it's up to the principals to encourage that [application for leadership positions]." In his case, he had made it known to teachers during his opening statements at the start of the school year that he would support them in their aspirations toward leadership by "build [ing] a plan for them to start and provide them with experience and knowledge."

It had been at this time that he had also explained to teachers that at times some of their colleagues may get "some extra prep[aration] periods . . . some additional kinds of things, and if someone is standing back saying: 'That's not fair', then everyone has an equal opportunity to be treated unequally." He clearly made the distinction between treating people fairly and treating them equally. He clarified it by stating that:

> In fact, one of the opening comments I have at the beginning of the year is, when we first get together again after Summer, is I is I remind my colleagues, and it's also a message for anybody new on staff that I will I will work very hard to treat people fairly. But I will never try to treat people equally, because if I try to treat every member of our staff, let's say, our teaching staff for example, if I try and treat everyone equally, then I either have to force everyone to rise up to the highest level of involvement . . . or pull everyone to the lowest and that's not fair.

Principal Al made sure to keep teachers' aspirations in confidence, but encouraged others to consult with these teachers if they felt that they were treated with favoritism. In most instances, they would find out that teachers viewed as favored were in fact aspirants to leadership positions, who were given opportunities to gain administrative experience. He elaborated on this point by saying:

> So I say: "If you see something going on that you," because then I said: "I believe that it's my job to treat that with confidence. I'm not going to put that in the newsletter, nor am I going to announce that over the P.A. system. So if you see something and if you think that person is being treated with favoritism, then go and talk to the person, and you may well find that that person has chosen to gain some experiences, and I have a professional obligation to assist however I can." Now we have everyone in the staff knew that [Francine] was heading for administration, you see, so they all understand that she gets involved, this was before this year you know, that she gets involved in things and that we have another teacher on staff the same thing. She's choosing to let people know of her aspirations, but for some people, it's a private thing. They don't want everyone to know, so therein, you see, so I give that message every year, and if anyone wants to be treated unequally, they can. They simply have to come and let me know and I'll do it for them too.

Principal Al then clearly saw himself play a role in the encouragement of teachers toward formal leadership. He also discussed at length how the school district's philosophy on second language programs and their place in schools "encouraged some [informal] leadership from within your teaching ranks. He explained how he "[did] not

believe the district would purposely go and appoint a French-speaking principal to a school that ha[d] French, not by design because of the lack of belief in [French Immersion] single-track [schools]," although he specified it could happen. Here is how he put it:

> On the informal leadership now, you may recall, I may have mentioned to you that our district does not believe in single-track schools . . . so by that, we always want to have our second language programs, in our case, it's French, but it could be whatever, Ukrainian, German, whatever, we always want them to be in a minority, if you will because our elementary schools, we want them to be considered to be regular community schools that have this additional program. So the district does try to maintain some sort of a ratio of regular programming, regular English programming to second language programming and I don't think there's anything on the books that says 1/3rd, 2/3rds, but at our school, it happens to be about approximately 25%-75%. Because of the lack of belief in single-track, I don't believe the district would purposely go and appoint a French-speaking principal to a school that has French, not by design. It's quite possible that that could happen. The assistant-principal, the first assistant-principal to the school was a bilingual French-speaking person, French, but I don't recall him being sent here only because he's French. It just so happens that [Francine] at this moment, is acting as our assistant-principal, and she is bilingual, so Francophone, so that's great; it's working out really well. Before then, bec[ause] so if you have a situation where your administration, either your principal or your assistant or both do not speak French, then you have to encourage some leadership from within your teaching ranks.

Having a member of the school administrator possessing an awareness of French Immersion program needs, partly because of a knowledge of the French language and partly due to one's teaching experience at one school, was, in George's opinion, advantageous to the program because of the administrator's ability to push for needed resources. He seemed appreciative of the fact as:

> It was pretty nice for certain things because every once in a while because she was more aware of the French program and what goes on in the needs of the French program that if we needed something and we were told that there wasn't really the money, she would kind of stand up and say but we really need this. It's not just sort of a whim, it's like we have to have this. It seemed that the resources were coming a little quicker now . . . not just because she spoke French, but because she had been teaching in this school for quite a few years and she really knew the needs of the school and the French program so she pushed for things a little more when she was part of administration.

The concern for increased educational leadership on the part of the administration was also recurring in the findings collected at Blue Spruce School.

Blue Spruce School

Administrative and leadership issues discussed at Blue Spruce School were the need to have access to an increased quantity and quality of French Immersion district consulting services. Some participants speculated that the problem was due to the non-availability or non-allocation of monies, the minority status of French Immersion programming within this particular district, the limited availability of French Immersion specialists in contrast to generalists, and the relative newness of the program. Many participants also spoke at length about the importance of having at least one member of the administrative team speak in French in order to take part in a meaningful sharing of professional knowledge. Unquestioned school-wide French cultural activities, undisputed requests for resources, language modeling vis-à-vis students, an understanding of what was happening in the French Immersion classroom, and increased understanding of teachers' personal/professional problems were all seen as advantages of having a vice-principal who spoke French and a pro-second language principal who had made concrete efforts to learn the target language. Some teachers also stressed the importance of give and take and of trust when sharing professional knowledge or providing assistance to each other.

A number of French Immersion teachers said that teacher participation in district-wide professional development activities was highly encouraged by Blue Spruce School's administration. As Keith put it, "Le directeur nous donne l'occasion de s'épanouir, de profiter de tout ce qui est disponible." However, they also spoke about some of their reservations toward them.

Based upon discussions with at least three teachers and Principal Benjamin, the choice/selection of professional development activities seemed to be largely governed or influenced by school-wide priorities, as opposed to individualistic teacher needs. As

Keith pointed out, there is still a certain degree of freedom of choice, "mais il y a certaines choses qui sont plutôt soulignées ou stressées si tu veux."

In order to meet their individual needs, some teachers such as Johanne chose to attend after-school workshops that were offered by the district's consulting services at no charge to the school. In her case, selection of professional development activities was based upon her specific yearly goal-setting objectives. She felt compelled, on the one hand, to learn more about teaching at the elementary level, as she had no formal training for this age level; on the other hand, she wanted to learn more as former administrators had relied on her to order resources for the school's French Immersion program.

Although helpful, a downfall of these professional development activities was that most of them were offered in English, not in French. Yves gave the example of a workshop he attended the morning prior to our interview. "Moi, j'enseigne les études sociales en français, mais l'atelier était en anglais. Le conseiller pédagogique était excellent, mais il a dit: 'I'm sorry' . . . mais quand même, ça m'aide."

Another limiting aspect of professional development or consulting services offered by the district to French Immersion teachers was that "there was one Francophone consultant who was expected to be the specialist [in each given area, whether it was] in mathematics, French language arts, social studies, extended French." Thus, for Yves, there was a lack of French-speaking specialists, such as French reading specialists, as opposed to generalists. Given that little specialized assistance was available to French Immersion teachers at the district level, the issue of having one member of the administrative team be conversant in French became more relevant.

The participants at Blue Spruce School believed it was important that at least one member of the administrative team speak French. They offered a variety of reasons in support of this belief.

The first reason provided by one respondent was that French-speaking administrators could actually understand what was being said and done in the classroom.

Laurie noted that Principal Benjamin's basic understanding of the French language afforded him the opportunity to also "understand what was happening in the classroom . . . at least, what we are doing, what the students are saying or what is written on the board."

Another reason given by a few participants was that since French-speaking administrators were also likely to have taught or be in the process of teaching French Immersion classes themselves, they were more familiar with students and their specific problems on the one hand, and with teachers' pedagogical needs on the other hand. For example, because one of Blue Spruce's French-speaking administrator also taught in some of the French Immersion classes, she knew most students. Johanne liked this situation as she could go to her to discuss specific problems about students in French. She "found this to make a big difference." To Monique, Blue Spruce School's French-speaking administrator was more likely to have increased receptivity to French Immersion teacher needs, because she also was experiencing them. Conversely, as a person with little knowledge of English, she felt that one had to really know the language to really live it in full.

Other reasons underscored by a number of participants were that French-speaking administrators could collaborate with them on special class projects, share with them some in-depth discussions about teaching, and provide them with some instructional leadership. They could also participate in decision-making pertaining to French Immersion (e.g. selection of books, texts, films, etc.) in a meaningful way, and as Yves put it, "not by pretending."

Yves considered that the administrator would show some leadership by going into a class to share a special class project with a teacher. He conceded that a teacher could simply take over that type of leadership in a school which housed a lower percentage of French Immersion population than at Blue Spruce School, but noted that "a colleague was not the same thing as an administrator."

This view of leadership was also held by Johanne:

> Je pense que c'est important qu'il montre un certain leadership, qu'il aille des fois dans les classes, qu'il peut-être, partage quelque chose avec les professeurs, soit une préparation, une classe, un projet spécial. Je pense que c'est très important que l'administrateur ou l'administratrice connaisse la langue. Si tu veux partager en profondeur, il faut que tu partages vraiment, pas faire semblant. Il faut connaître la langue, oui, j'en suis à peu près certain. . . . puis aussi quand on fait le choix de livres, de textes, de films tu sais pour la bibliothèque.

To Johanne, having a member of the administrative team speak French "made a difference." At Blue Spruce School, it was this individual who initiated and set up meetings whereby French Immersion teachers would organize school-wide cultural activities such as the "fête de la Ste-Catherine" and the Winter "Carnaval," and "these were unquestioned [events]." In addition, this French-speaking administrator sometimes assisted French Immersion teachers with unit planning. She was also the one whom teachers approached when in need of resources, as she was once a French Immersion teacher herself. French Immersion teacher requests for resources were undisputed. "There was never a money debate as to whether resources really needed to be purchased."

Monique also noted that unless Francophone teachers particularly wanted to be well-liked by the principal, they would have a tendency to go toward the other French-speaking administrator to make requests about curricula needs and cultural performances, and would then go to the principal for problems of a more obvious administrative nature.

Principals who knew French were likely to be viewed as more approachable and understanding of French Immersion teachers in general than those who were not fluent in French. This was especially true if teachers did not speak English well. To Yves, the administrator's knowledge of the teacher's mother tongue made a difference at an emotional level, in that he one would get a greater sense of being understood in depth. He explained that:

> Le fait que tu [l'administrateur] es là, les professeurs te voit d'un peu plus bas et puis quand tu as des problèmes, quand tu veux avoir quelque chose n'importe quoi va voir cette personne-là. Puis si la personne parle puis comprend très bien ta langue, je pense que ça fait une différence au point

> de vue affectif. . . tu sais comment ton rapport est, comment tu comprends que la personne ne comprend pas du tout. Je pense à un professeur, disons, qui ne parle pas très bien l'anglais. Je pense qu'il aurait de la difficulté [à être] compris à fond.

Monique concurred with Yves's notion of the French-speaking administrator as making a difference, especially when dealing with French Immersion teachers on an emotional level.

Monique also talked about emotional problems as having a different meaning/connotation in English than in French. When she had tried to explain some of the emotional problems she was experiencing as having repercussions at a professional level to her non-French-speaking administrator, she did not feel understood. When she did the same with her French-speaking administrator, the latter was greatly disturbed about Monique's problems. Based upon this experience in particular, Monique felt that non French-speaking administrators perceived French-immersion teachers' problems as being childish. She elaborated on the difference between French and non-French-speaking administrators at length in the following way:

> Bien, je pense qu'elle doit être sûrement plus à l'écoute de nos besoins. Elle les vit ces besoins-là. Je pense de un, de ça. De deux, il faut vraiment connaître une langue, je pense, pour la vivre, puis eh . . . peut être parce que je ne parle pas assez l'anglais pour faire ces nuances-là. Tu vois quand il y a beaucoup de problèmes émotionnels qui se passe, en français je parle, c'est comme s'ils n'avaient pas la même connotation en anglais. Puis ces même problèmes émotionnels là, ont une résonance sur notre côté professionnel. J'en ai parlé à [Nom du directeur] . . . ça n'a pas été reçu. Quand les gens en ont parlé à [Nom de la directrice-adjointe], elle était déboussolée, tu vois. Puis c'est comme si nous autres, nos problèmes, bien c'est un peu enfantin. Tandis que, quand il y en a un des deux qui parle la langue, même avant [Nom de la directrice-adjointe], on avait un assistant-directeur qui parlait aussi le français, puis ça fait une différence.

Even though Monique may have made a resolve not to expand her knowledge of the English language, she found that her lack of fluency in the language sometimes gave

others the impression that she was less knowledgeable than she actually was, and that this misconception was the source of many conflicts with others, as is revealed below:

> Je ne parle pas beaucoup l'anglais puis volontairement. Je pense que j'ai decidé de ne pas l'apprendre davantage . . . j'ai souvent fait semblant, depuis que je suis dans le milieu de l'enseignement, de ne pas comprendre l'anglais ou de dire: "I'm sorry, I missed the point." J'entends ce que je veux bien et je comprends ce que je veux bien et puis c'est peut-être pour cette raison que je ne le parlerai jamais l'anglais et puis je le parlerai toujours avec un gros accent. Ça fait que le monde dira toujours: "Pauvre petite, elle ne comprends pas OK." Et puis, ce que je trouve de désavantageux par exemple c'est que des fois, on crédite moins à mon savoir, puis ça des fois, ça me tanne puis ça me cause beaucoup de conflits avec des gens.

She added that sometimes, some of her superordinates "doubt her justifications" because they are unsure about whether she understands what is happening in her environment or not. She felt grateful for a French-speaking member of the administrative team. She affirmed that:

> Souvent, ces gens-là, trouvent que je suis bien "cute", mais ils ne sont pas certains si je comprends tout ce que je vis, ou tout ce que j'entends et puis à ce moment-là, on doute de mes justifications. Ça je trouve que c'est un gros désavantage, tu vois.

Having at least one of the administrators who was fluent French also heightened the profile of French Immersion in the school by making students aware that people other than the classroom teacher actually spoke French. For this reason, Monique believed that "there should be at least one French-speaking administrator and one French-speaking secretary within the school." Having the French-speaking administrator send messages over the school loud speaker in French was an example given by Laurie that supported Monique's comment.

Although Principal Benjamin could not communicate school-wide messages in French over the intercom, a number of French Immersion teachers recognized and appreciated his positive attitude toward second languages and his concrete efforts to learn French. Laurie thought of him as "having such a good attitude toward language programs [French and otherwise]." Keith remarked that "I think that our principal believes in it

[second language programs]. He is very open to French because he spent a year learning it. He makes the effort." In Yves's view, a principal's support for a French Immersion program could be measured by the level of effort demonstrated toward learning the language. He said that:

> Je ne sais pas. Des fois, tu peux mesurer l'attitude d'une personnesi . . . Je connais un directeur, j'en connais plusieurs qui ont fait l'effort de suivre des cours à l'extérieur de la province en français afin d'apprendre le français, d'améliorer leur français. Je pense que le fait qu'ils ont posé un tel geste indique qu'ils ont une bonne attitude vis-à-vis la langue, tu ne penses pas?

Below, Principal Benjamin described his level of understanding of the French language and how his pro-second languages attitudes led him to his present administrative position.

> I learned a lot of French but I am still very inhibited and nervous about speaking French because I'm conscious of my lack of skill and, but I know enough French now, so that if I am in an elementary class and they're working on something, I know what's going on. I don't get subtle things, like we've had some staff meetings with my French staff in French but I don't understand the play-by-play among the participants like; the main presentation--somebody's speaking formally, I get the main ideas, but the subtle stuff in which people are commenting on what happened passes me by completely. Maybe, maybe I'd like to imagine that one of the factors that they considered when putting me here was my attitude, like I am very pro-second languages. I have x children, I put them in French Immersion programs. I showed that I was willing to go extra miles to learn French by taking a year to learn French.

Perhaps, Principal Benjamin was not sufficiently adept in the French language to make teachers such as Monique feel properly understood; however, it was clear that he understood the need for strong French human and physical resources in Blue Spruce School's library. He himself commented that "this school didn't pay enough attention to its library. The library was a weak spot, and we concentrated more human and financial resources into improving it."

A few participants spoke in support of Principal Benjamin's statement. Yves and Noëlle both credited Principal Benjamin for building up the school's library resources. In particular, Noëlle inferred that because the "principal was very supportive of the library

and believed it to be the heart/core of the school, [Blue Spruce School] had received quite a reasonable budget within the last few years in order to rebuild the collection which had become dated." In Yves's opinion, "the present administration was fairly receptive" to the matter of needed resources. To him, it was simply a question of asking for them, and staying within budgetary limits.

Recent improvements in Blue Spruce School's library included the hiring of a librarian who knew French. Noëlle observed that up to that point in time, there mostly "had been English-speaking librarians who selected the material as best they could, but who perhaps may not have been well informed of the latest publications available." She added that "it had been easy to say that one could not teach a certain theme because to one's knowledge, nothing existed about it in French." She also acknowledged the increased selection of French publications available on the market over at least the last decade.

Since these improvements were made, Keith described Blue Spruce School as "a school rich in resources," and not being able to ask for anything better. In fact, with the exception of Science and somewhat Social Studies, there came a point where he believed Blue Spruce School had more than enough resources available to French Immersion teachers.

In Blue Spruce School, some of the isolation felt by certain French Immersion teachers may not have been for a lack of physical resources, but rather a lack of human resources to provide assistance when solicited.

Johanne's relationships with newer teachers to the school, irrespective of the program in which they taught, were partially motivated by her remembrance of the feelings of isolation she had experienced during her first year at Blue Spruce School. She recalled how she had found her first year at this school very difficult and how she had felt alone, as did some colleagues at the time of the collection of these data.

For example, although Laurie, who was one of the most recent additions to the French Immersion staff, was grateful for the increased availability of workshops offered by this school district, in contrast to her previous places of employment. However, she yearned for the greater collegial support she had experienced previously. She said that "maintenant, il me manque de l'appui, quelqu'un avec qui . . . la camaraderie." She added that: "J'essaie de retrouver de la camaraderie, c'est quelque chose qui me manque."

Johanne remembered and empathized with the plight of new teachers. Nevertheless, because of Principal Benjamin's implicit reliance on her, whom he considered a teacher-leader, she "felt forced" to help out her colleague so as not to disappoint his expectations of her. She expressed her feelings this way:

> Je sais que Principal Benjamin se fit beaucoup sur moi. Par exemple, l'année passée, Laurie était nouvelle et c'est allé jusqu'au point ou c'était trop, mais c'était moi . . . Je me sentais comme s'il me forçait toujours. C'était moi qui devait toujours l'aider. Alors, il se fie dans un sens oui, que je le fasse. . . . Je sais qu'il serait décu si je ne le faisais pas.

Looking back upon this situation, Laurie commented that it was a lot easier to receive help when someone else also needed it. She stressed the importance of the balance between the give and take in professional relations. As she "was so lost in the beginning," she did not offer much assistance to Johanne and had felt uncomfortable with "taking too much from someone without giving some back." She stated:

> Ce n'est pas le "fun" par exemple, de toujours prendre de quelqu'un d'autre parce que tu as l'impression de dépendre d'une personne . . . de trop prendre d'une personne sans en donner . . . C'est peut-être ça que ressentait le personnel quand je suis arrivée, alors c'est peut-être pour ça qu'on ne s'est pas du tout mis ensemble pour travailler parce que ces personnes-là, avaient l'impression qu'elles donnaient tout le temps. Puis moi, j'étais tellement perdue au début que je ne l'aidais pas tellement, alors c'est ça qui n'est pas le "fun" quand tu commences.

Monique shared this concern about reciprocity: "There is one [partner] who works harder than the other, and the other [partner] who hands in a coloring sheet.." She expressed a need for a climate of trust for sharing to occur; otherwise, she would choose to work alone. Because of the considerable time and energy she put into her planning,

she needed to know that the teacher-made resources she shared were well appreciated by her colleague(s). She explained that:

> Moi, quand je travaille avec quelqu'un, il faut que j'y fasse confiance ou je vais travailler toute seule, tu sais, ou je vais travailler avec un prof d'une autre école puis on va planifier ensemble . . . Puis c'est ça des fois que je trouve dommage. C'est plus basé sur de la confiance puis quand je donne une unité à quelqu'un, je sais qu'elle est appréciée, tu sais, parce que ce n'est pas de petites unités de trois heures de préparations que je donne d'habitude. Ça fait que, dans ce sens là, j'essaie d'être coopérative avec tout le monde.

Despite the risks, according to Teachers Keith and Laurie, much sharing occurred at Blue Spruce School. Often, teachers would ask for and willingly give each other supplementary copies of activity sheets or tests in the photocopying room. Sometimes when sharing materials and/or ideas with colleagues of the same stream, teachers would request their colleagues not to use them, to avoid redundancy with students who would move up a year level the following year.

Johanne observed that a lot of teacher talk occurred at a professional level at the start of the day, and that it did not restrict itself to French Immersion teachers. Rather, she noted that:

> On jase aussi professionnellement beaucoup le matin. Tu sais, on se donne des idées mais ce n'est pas uniquement avec les profs français comme je t'ai fait remarquer. C'est avec tous les profs qu'on le fait ou que je le fais, moi.

This comment was substantiated by Keith who also observed that "Il y a un bon partage entre les professeurs francophones et entre les professeurs [other language program] . . . On travaille bien ensemble."

Despite Keith's belief that teachers at Blue Spruce School worked well together, Monique "found that teachers were perhaps not cooperative enough in terms of French Immersion schedules, and that [for example], everyone did Christmas in his or her classroom and we all do little activities, while we could be having exchanges."

Even though Monique believed in, and took part in, the sharing of professional knowledge and materials with selected staff members, she also detected some degree of

competition instead of support among teachers. She said: "Ça occasionne de la compétition entre les profs. Puis, je me dit que les profs ont si peu de soutien de la société, qu'au lieu de se manger la laine sur le dos, qu'on devrait se supporter."

In fact, the competitive nature of a few teachers were the deciding factor in Monique's refusal to move to a different year level, as she would have felt compelled to compete with two of her respected colleagues. As she explained to them,

> "Regardez, je vous aime bien les filles, ça ne me fait rien de vous donner quelques chansons ou vous donner des feuilles d'activités, mais vous êtes trop compétitives. J'ai des enfants, je ne peux plus embarquer dans ce "trip-là." "Je ne peux plus embarquer ici pour impressionner [Nom du directeur], trois samedis en ligne, je ne peux plus. Je ne peux pas me permettre que vous soyez à la salle des profs puis que vous me parliez dans le dos comme vous parlez de [name of another teacher], "forget it." "Je n'embarque pas dans ce jeu-là. Je vais rester en [x] année." Elles étaient un peu fâchées, mais c'est la verité. Elles ont dit: "On ne fera pas ça avec toi" "Non, vous allez le faire. Je ne peux plus compétitionner avec vous-autres. Je n'ai plus l'énergie" . . . bien, j'ai mon énergie-là.

The need to collaborate and to share was expressed by a number of French Immersion teachers at Blue Spruce School. Even though most of the collaborative efforts occurred in an informal way, efforts were made to convene in a formal way to discuss specific French Immersion activities, namely, school-wide cultural ones.

In view of the already heavy load of the French Immersion teachers, formal meetings between them occurred on a need-to basis. As Noëlle pointed out, "la crainte d'imposer une autre réunion de plus à ton prof d'immersion. Il ou elle a déjà une grosse tâche à comparer à bien d'autres programmes."

Yves specified that normally these meetings revolve around the planning of celebrations such as "la fête de la Ste-Catherine" and "le Carnaval," and noted that Principal Benjamin involved himself in these meetings. He added that there were now fewer formal meetings for the purposes of sharing about what was being done in French Immersion classes, because there appeared to be a consensus on the implementation/use of the communicative approach to teaching French, as dictated by Alberta Education.

Yves observed that teachers often assisting each other without realizing it simply by exchanging a few words here and there in the school hallways.

Despite this, he preferred consultations with district consultants or his principal when in need of help/assistance, because he found that too many valid opinions from varied sources led him to confusion. He wanted one view (the official one, I suspected). He stated that:

> Quand j'ai besoin d'aide, je téléphone à une conseillière . . . Je ne demande pas beaucoup des autres, mais je demande à une conseillière pedagogique, disons en science si j'ai besoin de quelque chose . . . à mon directeur . . . parce que je trouve que des fois, si tu demandes à beaucoup de gens . . . Je sais qu'ils ont tous de très bonnes opinions, ils ont tous différentes façons. Des fois, ça te mêle davantage. Sais-tu qu'est ce que je veux dire? Alors, j'aime avoir une vue.

Even though some teachers preferred soliciting assistance from district consultants or their principals, because of their colleagues' lack of bureaucratic authority, Principal Benjamin encouraged some teachers he felt had leadership potential to develop their skills by partaking in specific activities. He explained in detail how he had encouraged leadership in his school, and described some of the problems he had encountered while doing so. He maintained that:

> I like to encourage people to take initiative and to be independent as much as feasible. That's kind of a high risk way of going about things, but I do, I think, give people a fair amount of freedom. If I think that they're getting into trouble I do try to encourage. It isn't very sophisticated or anything like that--it's informal. I got into trouble with the staff a year before last was it? In which the principals set up a kind of professional development activity in which all the principals were gone for two days from their schools. And we were to have people come from our schools; the assistant principal and we had the choice of having another person; and I picked Johanne because I felt that she had some potential. But Johanne was new at the school and there were people who were upset because I had chosen her and not chosen people that had been here longer. And there were a lot of people who felt that they had been slighted, and so, when we had a similar opportunity later I did open it up--Who would like to go? So it wasn't quite as direct as who I'd chose. I work with my assistant-principal and I consult with her on decisions. I try for anything that is a major decision and, you know, could go sour, I consult with her; and I get her views, and if she sees leadership she encourages it, so I think we both do. There may be some people also who have the desire to lead and who don't strike me as having as much potential as they think they have. But I still let them do things. I have made a deliberate choice, for example,

> when we have assemblies to have the people run the assemblies, including the speeches. To direct the traffic, to be the master of ceremonies, to maintain the discipline of the assembly. I felt that I had learned how to do that. I don't have any need to develop that further, not that I'm great or anything, but I don't need that for my career advancement. So I have deliberately chosen to have people take that role. I've encouraged different people to lead the assemblies, and I've found they've done very well. They've had a lot of praise and recognition from other staff members. We find that if they take leadership roles the job gets done better, they get more committed we think to the school. I guess, I guess we are encouraging leadership.

Even though Monique made it clear that she had no ambition to fulfill a formal leadership position, she did feel a lack of meaningful recognition of her competencies on the part of her principal. She gave the example of having been one of three French Immersion teachers from Blue Spruce School to have spoken at a conference. Although she had been the main contact person who arranged for her two colleagues to be speakers also, Principal Benjamin only mentioned them, not her. Rather, on a different occasion, at a staff meeting, she was congratulated for baking goods which she had not cooked.

Another example concerned the time when Principal Benjamin had publicly praised a staff member for materials which, in fact, Monique prepared. She chose to stay silent at that time, but afterwards she approached her colleague to ask whether or not she had revealed her source of materials to Principal Benjamin. The answer was that she had not. Monique confided that others taking credit for her ideas happened often, but that only she knew about it. She said that:

> Puis en tous les cas, à un moment donné, j'ai donné des choses à quelqu'un, je ne te dirai pas qui. Il les a présenté au "staff" pour nous dire qu'elle avait de très bonnes idées . . . Je suis allée voir cette personne [par] après . . . J'ai dit: "Lui as-tu dit que c'était du stock que je t'avais passé." . . . "Mais non eh . . . tu sais." "Ah, c'est bien ça", j'ai dit . . . Tu vois, puis ça, ça arrive souvent, mais il y a rien que moi qui le sait.

As she explained, she was not the type to go to her principal and inform him of her background and accomplishments, so she "camouflaged a lot of what she did."

It was Monique's perception that Principal Benjamin "did not fully support" her because of a "lack of trust" in her. She contended that in all the years she worked under his leadership he "never brought invited guests into her classroom." She said:

> Moi, il ne les amène pas les invités dans ma classe, puis je lui ai déjà demandé: "C'est drôle, tu les emmènes dans la classe à [Names of other teachers], tu ne les emmènes pas dans ma classe, on ne fait pas de choses intéressantes dans ma classe?" . . . C'est parce qu'il ne sait pas comment il va me trouver puis il ne sait pas que . . . Tu sais moi, un invité va rentrer bien, si tu penses que je vais le laisser là, à la porte, ou je vais l'asseoir, ou je vais lui dire: "Bien là, Madame, faites-nous donc cette partie de ce discours-là pour voir." Tu sais, moi, tout le monde fait quelque chose, puis c'est à ce moment que l'état de surprise . . . Puis je pense que dans ce sens-là, "I keep him on his toes."

However, only Monique did not feel supported or trusted by Principal Benjamin. In fact, Laurie expressed the opposite sentiment.

> Maintenant, je me fis beaucoup à mon directeur. Puis j'ai confiance en lui. Puis je sais qu'il m'appuie en autant que, qu'est-ce que je fais est correct. Qu'est-ce que je veux dire, c'est qu'il va écouter notre côté en premier pour savoir pour quoi là qu'est-ce qui ce passe, puis on pourrait lui dire qu'est-ce qu'on a à dire en confiance sans penser qu'il va peut-être garder ça en tête pour nous juger.

She did not feel that Principal Benjamin would use what she disclosed to him in confidence to judge her in any way.

Confidence in the principal's ability to judge teachers' work fairly and feeling at ease with being evaluated were of concern to certain teachers. Keith reported that teacher evaluations done by Principal Benjamin simply consisted of a series of short visits of a three to ten minute duration. Sometimes, he would sit; most often, he circulated just to get an idea of how things were functioning in class. At Blue Spruce School, teacher evaluation was done primarily to satisfy bureaucratic requirements.

However, French Immersion teachers at Blue Spruce School were indeed encouraged to attend professional development activities and to develop their leadership skills. A number of them also appreciated Principal Benjamin's pro-second language attitudes and efforts to learn French, and saw him as instrumental in facilitating their work by building up their French Immersion library.

Red Cedar School

The perceived attitude of the school administrators toward French and their knowledge of the second language emerged as issues of concern to some teachers at Red Cedar School. Advantages of having one of the members of Red Cedar School' administrative team speak French were that "it would give importance to French Immersion, that "it would support participants' teaching," that it would contribute to "a sense of community and of family," and that an Anglophone administrators "would not have to rely so heavily on informal teachers." Red Cedar's principal also felt a lack of "central leadership" on the part of senior administrators. Similarly, a number of French Immersion teachers felt a "lack of direction" at the "pedagogical level" on the part of the principal. Although collegiality and informal leadership were viewed as "interesting," some teachers felt that "it did not replace instructional leadership." It seemed that instances of collegiality at Red Cedar School were contingent upon many factors, such as a concern for "an equal partnership," time, teaching levels, teacher personalities, teaching styles, perceptions of teacher language and pedagogical competencies, varied definitions of collaborative work, teacher ability to juggle professional responsibilities, expectations of student behavior and achievement, teacher ability to share physical space, and others.

French Immersion teachers at Red Cedar School wanted their administrators to value French, whether they were fluent in it or not. Some of them also discussed the advantages of having at least one member of the administrative team speak it.

In Wilma's eyes, administrators' attitudes toward the foreign language overrode their knowledge of it. She also stressed the importance of a positive attitude on the part of principals and/or vice-principals toward second language acquisition, irrespective of the language in question, and toward minority groups in general, be they Chinese, French-speaking, French, etc. She commented that preferences on the part of administrators for specific languages and/or minority groups were easily perceptible. By

the same token, to her, if a principal spoke the target language, it was proof of a positive attitude toward this language. Her views were elaborated upon as follows:

> Bien premièrement, je trouve que . . . Veux-tu, je vais te dire, qu'est-ce que je trouve qui est bien important. C'est premièrement, ça prend des directeurs, des assistant-directeurs qui sont d'accord, qui aiment la langue OK. Même s'ils ne la parlent pas, même si . . . tu sais là, tu as des gens qui on l'attitude de dire: "Oh, c'est-tu le "fun", est-il chanceux, il peut parler le français." "Oh, est-il chanceux, il peut parler," je ne sais pas moi? l'ukrainien, le chinois, n'importe quoi." "J'aimerais ça être cultivé, puis de connaître la langue." Ça, cette attitude-là, qu'ils prennent notre place" ou bien, tu sais, qu'ils prennent cette attitude-là, ça c'est vraiment . . . ou bien l'attitude: "Ah les Ukrainiens sont mieux que les Français" ou bien "les Chinois sont mieux que les Français," mais ça c'est vraiment lamentable. Puis ça paraît quand un directeur réagit comme ça, quand il a des préférences, bien ça paraît. Puis je sais que ça peut être intéressant que les directeurs parlent la langue aussi parce que, bon déjà là, c'est la preuve qu'il est positif face à la langue. Mais, comme je dis, c'est surtout l'attitude que je trouve importante. C'est vraiment ça la grosse nuance. C'est ça. Je trouve que c'est la priorité à nos yeux.

Ideally, Ursula wished for more than a positive attitude toward the second language on the part of the administrators. In her opinion, if one member of the school administrative team were competent in the target language, it would "give importance" to the French Immersion program. There would a wider field of French language experience in the school, therefore rendering it "more alive." According to Rachel, "It is difficult for students to see only teachers speaking French, and not the administration or support staff." Ursula would have loved to see the principal enter her classroom and address himself or herself to her students in French. To her, "it would support [her] teaching," especially given that teachers "were parachuted there and for students, they were almost the only [language] model."

Some teachers also believed that if the administrators understood French, they would be able to actually see and understand some of the problems experienced by teachers in the process of communicating with students. Rachel explained what she meant in the following way:

> Je pense qu'ils pourraient communiquer avec les enfants et puis aussi voir les problèmes qu'on a dans la classe. Tu sais, pour eux-autres, tu leur dis: "Cet enfant ne devrait pas être dans le programme de français, etc.. Ils ne

> comprennent pas vraiment pourquoi, quelles sortes de difficultés que l'enfant a."

Ursula observed that she would have greater confidence in the ability of a principal knowledgeable in French to "understand [her] needs and those of [her] students." She added that she "would [also] feel a lot better about approaching her principal in French." If the administrators did speak French, she imagined that meetings involving French Immersion teachers could be held in French. If this were to happen, she felt that "it would change the whole life of the program." For Rachel, students, teachers and administrators all speaking French would contribute to a sense of community: "Ça serait plus comme une famille, une grande famille."

To Sylvain, although knowledge of the French language on the part of administrators was helpful, it mattered less than knowledge of the actual language program. He stated that "un directeur qui connait les programmes . . . S'il y a trois langues dans ton école, il faudrait savoir qu'est-ce qui se passe dans l'enseignement des langues . . . Je ne pense pas de connaître la langue, mais ça aiderait beaucoup." In-depth knowledge of the French Immersion program was felt to enhance a principal's ability to provide assistance to French Immersion teachers. For example, while several teachers acknowledged that their principal informally evaluated their teaching performance by quickly circulating in the classroom every other week or so, they noted that his observations were mostly concerned with classroom organization, classroom atmosphere, class participation and the like. In other words, he focused mostly on general aspects of teaching rather than on pedagogical skills specific to immersion teaching, as the following quotes convey:

> Il vient dans ma classe assez souvent, puis il circule. . . . Je crois que je préfère la personne qui vient vingt-sept fois pendant deux minutes parce qu'il y a beaucoup de choses qu'il peut voir. Alors, ses commentaires étaient surtout du point de vue de l'organisation de la classe, des choses comme ça du point de vue d'être capable d'aider avec des programmes? (Sylvain)

> Le directeur, lui, la manière dont il fait son évaluation . . . c'est d'être dans les classes, d'entrer dans la classe au moins une fois chaque deux semaines. Il essaie, mais ne peut pas toujours le faire, de circuler. Puis, il m'a dit qu'en entrant comme cela, il reconnait l'atmosphère de la classe. C'est comme cela qu'il sait si l'enseignant est bon ou non, en regardant, bien, tu sens dans la classe une tension ou non. Ça se sent, puis en regardant si les élèves lèvent la main aussi, si les élèves répondent. (Ursula)

> Le directeur, il rentre et il sort de la classe. Il circule. (Wilma)

Ursula argued that the principal needed to be familiar both with the program and with the language, in order to "help or contribute to the advancement of the program, assist students or hire a French Immersion teacher." She felt that "not knowing the second language and having to rely so heavily upon others" reflected "a bit of a lack of competence" on the part of the administrators. In support of this statement, Ursula gave the example of the need to bring in a second language consultant to evaluate her teaching because none of the administrators spoke French. She conveyed a certain degree of surprise at not having more Francophone administrators heading schools which housed French Immersion programs. She attributed this to a conscious and voluntary central decision that French was not a priority in appointing principals of immersion schools. Ursula communicated this belief by stating that: "Si tu fais le tour, il n'y a pas beaucoup de directeurs qui parlent la langue, puis je pense que c'est voulu, comme cela n'est pas une priorité d'engager un directeur d'immersion qui connaît le français ou non." She believed that she would refuse an administrative position in a dual or multi-track school, if she were ignorant of the target language(s), as she would not feel competent enough to do an effective job.

On the other hand, some teachers preferred a competent Anglophone administrator over an incompetent Francophone one. As Sylvain said, "Si j'avais le choix entre un vrai bon directeur anglophone et un maudit tata francophone, bien je prendrais le bon directeur anglophone, mais ça ne veut pas dire qu'on va exclure tous les directeurs francophones."

Once again, to Sylvain, what would have strengthened Red Cedar School's sense of community was that the school administration be put in charge of programs, rather than simply public relations (PR). He stated that:

> Moi, je trouve que ça aiderait beaucoup de mettre la direction de l'école en charge des programmes parce que je ne suis pas habitué à avoir la direction de l'école qu'en charge des relations publiques. Je trouve ça vraiment difficile de comprendre pourquoi on est organisé comme cela.

In Sylvain's eyes, having a school administrator demonstrate instructional leadership would give identity to the school, as ongoing discussions about pedagogical issues from one year to the other would offer continuity in the scope and sequence of each program and the opportunity to establish some traditions specific to a school. Instead, he found "a lack of direction at the scholastic/pedagogical level," as no one tried to take the bull by the horn by assuming responsibility for the programs. Sylvain made his point in these words:

> D'après moi, au moins, ça aide beaucoup à donner une espèce d'identité à l'école s'il y a moyen d'avoir des discussions qui peuvent porter d'une année à une autre, du point-de-vue continuité . . . à tous les points de vue même, du point de vue de choses très simples comme l'écriture, l'organisation des problèmes des choses en éducation . . . Et puis, je trouve qu'il y a vraiment une absence de direction, au plan scolaire. Les personnes arrivent d'en dehors, puis ils essaient de boucher les trous aussi bien qu'ils le peuvent, mais il n'y a personne qui prend le mord-aux-dents et puis qui dit: OK, à cette école ici, c'est moi qui est en charge des programmes, puis, on va mettre ça ensemble. Peut-être que ça va prendre trois ou quatre ans, et puis d'établir quelque sorte de tradition . . . parce que certainement ça serait un peu différent d'une école à l'autre.

To him, "instructional leadership was number one" and "to remain involved in programs such as mathematics, science, taught in French or English, special education, etc., was the central role of a school administration." However, he maintained that this was not the case in Red Cedar School. Instead, "program responsibilities were distanced to central office et it worked up to a certain point," and energies of school administrators were mostly concentrated upon enhancing their school's public image.

Even though Sylvain very much appreciated the volunteer work of informal teacher-leaders who attempted to offer some form of instructional leadership, and found

the process of collegiality interesting, he observed that neither teacher-leaders nor collegial interactions were in any way apt to replace the school administrators' leadership, since some degree of formal authority was needed to give weight to pedagogical decisions. He said that:

> Oui, c'est forçément plus limité, puisque ce sont des profs qui font ça à titre de volontaires plutôt que . . . parce que ça marche très bien des réunions comme ça, mais il y a des fois qu'il faut avoir un peu d'autorité aussi. Un groupe de profs sans autorité, ce n'est pas un conseil, c'est juste eux-autres ensemble, et puis je trouve ça bien intéressant mais ça ne remplace pas le "leadership," du tout, du tout.

Principal Clark readily admitted his unfamiliarity with certain curricular aspects of the French Immersion program. That is precisely the reason why he so heavily relied upon informal teacher-leaders such as Ursula on the one hand, and expressed a need for increased central office leadership on the other hand:

> For example, the introduction of new [French] Language Arts material, something of that nature -I think we still need some central leadership because I'm not familiar as an Anglophone Administrator, I'm not familiar with all of the . . . everything that's coming. Then that's why we have to rely upon people like Ursula . . . see what's important. She will sometimes come and say that it's important that at least one representative from each division go to that inservice, but we maybe need a little more direction in that area, but again that's central leadership. Right, an overall picture, someone who's an expert and has an overall picture.

The absence of a sense of direction and a sense of purpose on the part of central office administrators vis-à-vis the French Immersion program emerged as a real concern for Principal Clark:

> At one time we had a fellow by the name of [name of central office administrator] who, when you mentioned his name it was synonymous with second languages within this district. He was a person who took it upon himself to see that we always had a sense of direction and a sense of purpose. We no longer have that and that is a real concern. He was not replaced. Our consultants are set up as consultants only. In other words we can request their advice or assistance at the school level, but we as administrators are totally in charge of our own schools and our own destiny. We don't have an overall direction from above anymore in second languages and I have a feeling that that is one of the reasons why we are losing out on all the increases. I think they're very static if anything, they might be dropping somewhat at the Kindergarten and Grade One level. So that doesn't look good for second language in this district, in contrast to second language programs across Canada; they're all on the increase. We

are either stagnant or in a slight decrease. I don't have the exact figures. But I believe it's due in part to that lack of central leadership.

He explained the lack of leadership not only with the loss of a former central office administrator, but also with the loss of a former second language consultant and the changing realm of rights and responsibilities associated with this particular position. In the next passage(s), Principal Clark described some of the leadership qualities exhibited by this former second language consultant as well as some of the differences between past and existing roles of the second language consulting positions.

PC: I had a supply teacher who was having difficulty prior to Christmas and I had [Name of a second language consultant] out to give some very good assistance. So they are available . . . by assistance, but they cannot offer direction. That it totally outside their realm. [Name of former second language consultant] was an outstanding leader, if anything maybe she did too much for teachers, she was wonderful, absolutely wonderful. She lived and breathed second language programs and she provided so much assistance that it was actually, I felt that sometimes it was work the teachers should have been doing themselves. In terms of organization, in terms of planning, she offered wonderful assistance. Unfortunately we lost her. She was a consultant in second languages and she worked originally with [name of a former central office administrator] and the role of the consultant changed. At that time, a consultant might call a meeting, might ask to come to the school and have a meeting with staff, now they're only allowed to come into the school with an invitation from the principal.

I: Okay, yeah. So basically they have less authority.

PC: That's right.

I: They don't have power to make decisions.

PC: They have no authority, they are not in the decision making mode. They can only offer advice and assistance when we . . . if we ask for it.

It became clear that Principal Clark was looking toward central office administrators for direction rather than assistance from second language consultants, in the same way that French Immersion teachers looked to their principals for direction rather than to their colleagues for assistance.

Principal Clark felt that increased central office direction was also needed in terms of the pedagogical development of French Immersion teachers. In his opinion, the district had gone from too much to too little involvement in the offering(s) of inservices of these teachers. He said that:

> At one time we had a lot more inservices in place for French teachers, in fact maybe almost so many that it was at the detriment of the teachers. These inservices were always held during school time and it meant bringing in supply teachers, so French teachers were perceived by the other teachers as always being away at inservices. I think it does say something for the continuity of the program in the classroom whey they're out so much so maybe it was a little too much, but I think we've gone almost the opposite direction as we have very few inservices for French teachers. Maybe we still need this centrally. This all goes back to the central leadership. We still have inservices available out there for those teachers to select from, but I think we need some central direction as to where we're going and what would be in the best interest of all teachers to take.

Whether it was because the school administrators lacked a knowledge of the French language and/or French Immersion curriculum or whether it could not always meet the physical and/or human resources needs of French Immersion teachers due to financial constraints, both school administrators and French Immersion teachers seemed to turn to informal leadership within the school for support and assistance.

Ursula explained that if one wished to see the French Immersion program go forward, one had to see that things got done oneself. Given that she was knowledgeable of the French Immersion program and held it close to her heart, she quickly understood that she would have to push ahead and create a niche for herself; otherwise, she would not have been approached as an informal leader. She stated that:

> Et puis je pense qu'il faut prendre sa place. . . Je sais ce qui ce fait au niveau du français, ça me tient à coeur, pi si tu veux que ça avance, il faut que toi-même, tu fasses des choses. J'ai compris ça, alors je voulais que ça avance tant qu'à travailler en immersion. Alors, j'ai foncé. J'ai pris ma place mais, sinon eux ne seraient probablement pas venus me chercher.

Instances whereby the principal sought assistance from her were those involving telephone calls from the French radio station, decisions about student transfers from an immersion to a non-immersion program. When Ursula approached Principal Clark, it

was usually to inform him about what was happening in the school concerning upcoming French cultural events, etc., as generally he gave her "carte-blanche." Rarely did he stop her from going ahead with plans she had laid out in regard to the program.

Other examples of responsibilities given to Ursula, which were beyond her teaching duties, were: the administering and supervision of the French monitoring program (formal request paperwork, timetabling, monthly signing of timesheets, etc.), the provision of concrete assistance to beginning teachers, substitute-teachers, and the like, by lending them her own teaching materials and by taking students with behavioural problems out of their classroom in one hour blocks of time, etc.

Because Ursula had been working at Red Cedar School since before the arrival of the current principal and vice-principal, neither administrator questioned that she was the one who took care of the French program. She said:

> C'était acquis que j'étais celle qui s'occupait du français; alors, eux, ils ont pris ça tel quel. Ils sont venus à l'école. Ils avaient entendu ce que je faisais au niveau du programme et ils ont gardé le statu quo par rapport à ça.

Ursula's position of informal leaders was formalized with the establishment of a district-wide French Coordinator's program, whereby each school which offered French Immersion was granted a budget to allow a designated teacher to participate in training/information sessions about the French Immersion language arts program, which was new at the time. Although this program was funded only for one year, Ursula continued to be considered as Red Cedar School's French coordinator. Therefore, all French related-correspondence about cultural events or updates on the French Immersion language arts program were placed in her mailbox.

Other teachers at Red Cedar School also displayed leadership skills. For example, Sylvie, who was seeking a formal leadership position, had volunteered much of her time to work as a Social Studies, Science, Health and Computer Literacy coordinator by locating and ordering resources for the French Immersion program. In the case of a new

Social Studies curriculum, Sylvie perceived a lack of involvement on the part of a number of teachers and saw them as "needing to be pushed a little bit and as requiring assistance."

Similarly, Vivianne saw herself as "good at providing assistance and at pushing someone, but not at initiating a project and telling people what to do." She did not perceive herself as an actual leader, for she felt she lacked the formal authority needed to win teachers over to get them committed to a project. Her leadership involvement appeared to emerge behind the scenes, especially since she considered Ursula as more knowledgeable than she in certain areas such as the then new French language arts curriculum.

Rather than informing Principal Clark about curricular-related matters within the school as Ursula did, Vivianne would sometimes intervene on behalf of her colleagues to try to ease tensions between the administrators and teachers or to encourage it to offer more emotional support to teachers who may have felt discouraged or unappreciated, etc.

Some teachers initiated monthly meetings in an attempt for French Immersion teachers to gather together and to discuss common goals and priorities and to offer each other assistance. Illustrations of some priorities were monthly activities for all grades 1 to 6 French Immersion students and increased emphasis on French oral skills. As Ursula stated, "Ça serait le temps d'avoir le contrôle de ce qu'on fait tous ensemble, puis de prendre des décisions en commun, le personnel francophone. Alors, on a décidé de faire des réunions." Vivianne observed that under the former administration, "teachers had gotten so used to working alone," whereas the current one encouraged collaborative efforts among teachers.

One of the benefits of these teacher-initiated monthly meetings was that, according to Vivianne, teachers realized that "sharing did not signify that teachers were

not succeeding on their own." Another benefit identified by Rachel was that they offered opportunities for "good communication." For her,

> The point is to share because if you're doing themes, you know how hard it is sometimes to get enough information, especially in French. Then, I've been teaching long enough that you pick up things here and there; so, it's nice to share. When I need assistance, especially at my level, we usually talk to one another.

Despite this attempt, actual instances of collaboration among teachers seemed to be contingent upon many factors such as time, teaching levels, teacher personalities, teaching styles, perceptions of teacher language and/or pedagogical competencies, teachers' varied definitions of collaborative work, juggling of responsibilities, teacher expectations of student behavior and achievement, teacher ability in sharing physical space, and others.

Vivianne expressed her discouragement at the difficulties she experienced when trying to work on joint projects with some of her colleagues. One of these difficulties was that she found Division II teachers to be "more individualistic and less inclined to exchange." At the same time, Vivianne recalled an instance when she felt she had to refuse to collaborate with another teacher because the theme suggested by her Division II colleague would not have been of interest to her own students.

As Vivianne had tended to do most of the work in collaborative situations in the past, she was concerned with the notion of "equal partnership" in her search for a colleague with whom she could work with more closely. She "wanted a teacher who worked as much as [she] did." She elaborated upon how she decided whether to get involved in a joint project with another colleague below:

> Alors, bien, je trouve qu'avec certains professeurs, si je m'implique, je fais tout le travail, puis alors je ne veux pas m'impliquer. J'en ai assez de travail, si je veux m'impliquer ils vont dire: OK, on va s'asseoir ensemble puis moi je vais faire ça, puis toi ça. On se dit dans quelle direction aller, je vais travailler avec le professeur disons dans les classes plus jeunes si c'est une bonne idée de faire ça." Je dis: "Oui ça serait une bonne idée," mais s'ils s'attendent à ce que moi je l'organise j'en ai déjà assez de travailler alors je le pousse pas. Avec certains professeurs, j'ai eu l'expérience de travailler avec eux, ils ont eu de bonnes idées, puis c'est

> moi qui a fait tout le travail. Alors, je me tue, tu sais. e vais les aider, mais si c'est moi . . . Ça m'est déjà arrivé.

Vivianne noted that she interacted more frequently with teachers of the English or other second language programs than those of French Immersion. She "seemed to feel more at ease with English or [name of other second language program] teachers, whereas [she] had to make an effort to meet and talk with French Immersion teachers." Most French Immersion teachers at her school did not originate from the same province as she did. Contrary to some of her colleagues, she had not gone to school with any of them, and found it "difficult to find things [they] had in common."

There was in fact an ongoing collaboration between Vivianne and some English program teachers, who met on a weekly basis to prepare Science units. A year earlier, there had been a successful collaborative effort between Vivianne and another teacher from the other second language program, whereby both planned their Art program together. A year later, there had also been an unsuccessful attempt between Vivianne and another English program teacher to plan their Art program.

Teachers S and V admitted that sometimes teacher collaboration simply resulted from some chit chat among teachers who perhaps had the habit of smoking together off school grounds during the same breaks. Like Sylvain said: "Il y a [name of Vivianne] . . . Je trouve ça bien intéressant de discuter en général . . . Ce n'est pas que je lui arrive avec des questions, mais tout en fumant nos cigarettes . . . des petites discussions."

In Rachel's case, her relations with other teachers were motivated by her measure of other teachers success in having student learn, no matter what program they taught in. It was Rachel's perception that most teachers in the school's interactions were motivated by the common goal of student success. Since teachers largely taught the same concepts/program of studies, irrespective of their language program, Rachel figured that:

"If it works for them, I'll try it myself to see [if it works for me also]." She expressed her views as such:

> Habituellement, je trouve que si quelqu'un me dit: "Oh, j'ai besoin de ça, est-ce que vous avez quelque chose?" ou "Je suis à la recherche de quelque chose" bien là je vais dire: "Oh j'en ai moi, viens à ma classe" ou bien "regardez à telle et telle place" ou "Va voir. . ." Je pense que tous les trois programmes, on est tellement ouvert comme ça. On aime à partager les affaires, pas tous les professeurs, mais la plupart. Moi, ce ne me fait rien, si c'est mon idée. Moi, j'aime partager mes affaires, parce que quand eux-autres en ont la chance, ils partagent avec moi. C'est comme ça qu'on fait quelque chose de nouveau dans la classe. C'est le succès de l'enfant qui est important.

Ursula and Yvonne shared the assignment of a French Immersion class. Although both had good intentions to work collaboratively by co-planning their class instruction and activities, a number of factors prevented them from maximizing their opportunity to do so. In Ursula's view, one limiting factor was that Yvonne had too many other school-related responsibilities to fulfill. Even though both teachers shared some common themes with their class, Ursula "could not say that [they] sat down to make a yearly plan together in an effort to integrate their subject areas."

Ursula also recognized the sharing of a teaching assignment as being "a delicate situation because of two distinct personalities as having to deal with each other; however, [she] had never any problems with that." Instead, she found the actual sharing of a physical space such as a classroom challenging, particularly because of teacher differences in behavioral and academic expectations and in approaches toward students. For example, Ursula "was somewhat maddened or bothered" by her perception of Yvonne "not pushing their students enough."

> Personally, I find that she does not push enough [twice]. It makes me mad; it bothers me a little bit. It's funny because there is a child in my class who told me: "Madame, we only write one sentence [with Yvonne] and with you, it's a story." I said: "Yes, and are you capable of writing a story?" "Oh, yes." "So, go to it!" . . . So I push them a lot; the other teacher pushes them less. (Translation)

In Ursula's opinion, these differences in expectations and approaches caused the students to receive mixed messages from their homeroom teachers.

Another aspect of sharing a teaching assignment that Ursula "found tiring" concerned her colleague's level of competencies in the French language, which she did not find satisfactory:

> Mais, qu'est-ce que je trouve "tannant", c'est au niveau du français. Aussi, son français n'est pas assez bon. Si j'avais été à sa place, j'aurais refusé de prendre quelque chose qui avait du français parce qu'elle est supposée enseigner les mathematiques en français et les sciences en français et je doute qu'il y ait beaucoup de français parlé dans ma classe d'après-midi alors c'est une lacune. Je reviens c'est en anglais, alors ça me prend peut-être deux à trois minutes pour les ramener; ce qui ne devrait se passer. Ça me dérange un peu.

Despite all of these elements which rendered the sharing of Ursula's and Yvonne's teaching assignment a challenge, Ursula still enjoyed the experience and believed that both teachers and students must make an effort to adjust to different personalities, approaches and expectations.

Even though a number of French Immersion teachers at Red Cedar School was encouraged to develop their leadership skills and to work in a collaborative capacity, some teachers did not perceive encouragement toward the professional development of French Immersion teachers on the part of central office or school level administrators. For example, Wilma would have liked to see more professional development sessions in the form of workshops specifically designed or suited to French Immersion teachers. She stated:

> J'aimerais ça qu'il y ait des ateliers pour nous autres, en français, tu sais, spécifiquement aussi pour mon niveau, pas pour la maternelle. Moi, je hais ça parce qu'à chaque place à laquelle je vais, c'est toujours pour la maternelle, puis là il faut que tu l'adaptes pour la première année.

Vivianne agreed that central office was not very helpful to French Immersion teachers, since they often had to participate in sessions given in the English instead of the French language if they were interested in developing professionally. However, she added that unlike Wilma, who had been refused to attend a cooperative teaching course after a two-year request, Vivianne had always been granted her professional development requests at the school level except if projected costs were considered too high. She found

herself having to encourage teachers "who may be too shy to ask" to make requests for professional development.

Theresa also recalled how neither she nor her colleagues would be granted inservice time for her to explain how she, as teacher-librarian, had worked in the past, and could work in the future with teachers in a collaborative manner. She stated that:

> I didn't feel it so much last year, this year it has been a tremendous conflict. Because last year I thought well this is my first year in this school and I'm not forcing anything on anyone and we'll go gradually. I cut the periods in half so that the Division II only comes once every two weeks . . . and did the tag system and then thought well we'll move into this. I specifically asked the administration this year for, because I can see that this is not working, people are not wanting anything more than just this basic come in, let's trade our books, let's have the story, let's go and so I asked for next fall to have inservice time with them in the Fall in the beginning of the year, say a half day, to explain this, to give examples to show how it works, how it's worked in other schools, how I've worked with other teachers . . . it doesn't always have to be right from the grass roots say where we're developing the curriculum from the unit from nothing . . . it can be certainly picking up one part of the unit that's already prepared with what they're using in the classroom and . . . yes, and me just plugging into certain aspects of it and helping them so that there's all different degrees, but it was made very clear to me that no, I would not be given that kind of inservice time. If I wanted to do that kind of thing I had to do it on my own.

At Red Cedar School, there were some attempts made by various French Immersion teachers to work in a collegial manner, but the notion of an equal partnership remained problematic. Also, although some turned to others for assistance, they felt that collegiality and informal teacher leadership did not replace instructional leadership. A number of participants seemed preoccupied by the lack of educational leadership on the part of Principal Clark, and he, in turn, perceived a lack of leadership from central office administrators. A few teachers, in fact, felt that the lack of "central leadership" was motivated by a number of political factors.

Cross-Site Analysis

Participants at all three schools were concerned about a decline in French Immersion enrollment across the district. This was especially true of Red Cedar School.

Participants at Yellow Ash School and Red Cedar School believed that some senior and school administrators were not committed to French Immersion programming. Those from Blue Spruce School did not voice this concern. Perhaps, it was because one member of the school administrative team liked French and had made genuine efforts to learn it and because the other knew and taught French.

French Immersion teachers at all three schools underscored the importance of having at least one of their school administrators speak French for meaningful sharing of professional knowledge and decision-making about French Immersion to take place.

Some participants at Blue Spruce School and Red Cedar School felt that norms of collaboration between teachers did not replace instructional leadership on the part of school principals. This issue was not raised at Ash-leaved School. Each in their own way, some participants at all three schools expressed a need for trust and openness to foster norms of collaboration between French Immersion teachers themselves on the one hand, and between French Immersion and non-French Immersion teachers on the other hand.

Participants at all three schools had noted a decrease of caliber in the provision of second language consulting services across the district. French Immersion teachers at Yellow Ash School and Red Cedar School identified a need for more physical resources (e. g., books, manipulatives) and wished for increased administrative support in accessing and coordinating these. This was not the case of participants at Blue Spruce School, who gave credit to their principal for updating their library resources.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS: POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES

Political Issues

The school, district, provincial, and Canadian political contexts appeared to have far-reaching implications for the level of teacher interactions in dual and multi-track schools, especially at Yellow Ash School.

Yellow Ash School

Irrespective of their mother tongue, the question of speaking in French freely in the staff room was an important one to many participants. However, the level of concern in regard to this issue varied greatly from one participant to another. At this school, there was a strong expectation that French Immersion teachers not communicate in French in the presence of some of their unilingual Anglophone colleagues "out of respect" on the one hand, and to avoid conflict on the other hand. Some French Immersion teachers felt that they could not express their views, political or otherwise, openly and opted "to remain neutral," "not to rock the boat," and "to keep quiet," due to differing ideologies or ways of looking at the world. Of concern to these teachers was the uncertainty of the Canadian political future as it could adversely affect the fate of French Immersion programming across the country. Another emerging issue was the issue of perceived fairness vis-à-vis the allocation of classroom and library resources between the two programs within this dual-track school.

The right to use English or French and the freedom of thought, belief, opinion, and expression were both delicate issues at Yellow Ash School. However, their meanings and interpretations seemed as varied as each participant who spoke about them.

Based upon Brenda's experience, there were really no problems with respect to languages spoken in the staff room. She believed, however, that the ideal situation would

be for French Immersion personnel to speak in French for the benefit of teachers who wished to maintain or to improve upon their oral skills. She explained her views as such:

> C'est un bon "staff" ici, parce qu'il n'y a vraiment pas de problèmes avec les langues mais oui, la situation idéale c'est de parler français, pour moi et pour que les enfants . . . de me comprendre aussi, c'est important.

Helena was in agreement with Brenda, although she did recognize that there were some staff members who did not appreciate French being spoken in the staff room.

> Ben, je sais qu'il y a des gens qui n'aiment pas le fait qu'on parle en français dans la salle des profs. . . Ah, pas beaucoup, mais je pense que la plupart des gens sont ouverts d'esprit.

Helena recalled a past experience at a previous school, where French Immersion teachers had been forbidden to express themselves in French in the staff room by the principal. This situation had greatly disturbed her as she did not have many opportunities to speak French outside of the work environment. She found that not using French in the staff room prevented her from practicing and improving upon her oral skills.

> Pour moi, ça m'a beaucoup dérangé à cause du fait que oui, c'est comme j'ai l'occasion de parler en français tout le temps. Donc, oui, je voulais pratiquer la langue. J'ai trouvé que ça m'a vraiment empêché de m'améliorer.

Despite her desire to maintain and to improve upon her French language skills, Helena remained sensitive to English speaking personnel by speaking their language in their presence in order to avoid any negative repercussions, as mentioned in the next passage: "Mais, j'essaie de parler en anglais s'il y a des anglophones . . . parce que je sais ce qui va arriver autrement. Donc, je suis assez sensible à ça."

George also expressed the need to put English speaking personnel at ease by speaking their language in the staff room. Rarely had he heard his French Immersion colleagues use French instead of English in order to conceal a matter from an English-speaking staff member. If and when French Immersion personnel gathered at an area of

the staff room and spoke in French only, it was normally to deal with pedagogical matters. He interpreted the language issue in the staff room in the following way:

> Yeah, somebody will say a quick sentence or a few words in French and it's not very often, maybe twice this year, that I heard a teacher say something in French because they didn't want the English to hear or somebody who didn't want the English to hear or somebody who didn't speak French that just happened to be there and they just wanted to make sure that it wasn't understood by somebody else, but it's not very often. If there's a group of French teachers at a table and they're discussing something to do with school, it's usually in French, but if it's just during lunch and somebody else is sitting there who speaks English, then it's usually in English and that way the person that doesn't speak French doesn't feel uncomfortable.

The tendency of French Immersion teachers to accommodate English personnel out of respect or courtesy did not limit itself to speaking in the English language in the staff room. For some teachers like Claire, adopting the status quo stance by "remaining neutral" or not "rocking the boat" was a matter of necessity so that she may entertain a positive working relationship with all of her colleagues:

> [I]: Tu as mentionné que tu essais de rester neutre pour pouvoir continuer de travailler avec tous tes collègues. Ça fait que tu ne te sens pas à l'aise de dire exactement ce que tu penses sur certains sujets. [T C]: Oui, bien je ne suis pas du genre à comment dirait-on, à faire brasser les choses . . . à provoquer, oui. Comme si un tel rouspète sur le français, bien, tu sais, qu'elle rouspète, c'est son affaire.

Not all French Immersion teachers desired to accommodate English-speaking personnel. Francine recalled an extreme case, whereby a former French-immersion teacher (not from Québec) insisted on speaking in French at all times, with total disregard for her audience's spoken language. She apparently did so to make obvious to the non-French-speaking personnel, including her principal, their lack of knowledge of the French language and to make them feel inferior to herself. After eventually totally alienating herself professionally and personally from all staff members, be they English or French-speaking, she left the school. Francine explained that following this teacher's departure, French-immersion teachers had to expend two years of efforts to repair the damage

caused by their former colleague's attitude and actions, a very maddening situation in Francine's eyes, as exemplified below:

> Je pense que le plus gros problème qu'on ait jamais eu, venait du côté francophone. Elle poussait vraiment le français mais de façon ignorante, jamais qu'elle ne parlait l'anglais dans le salon des profs, si quelqu'un lui parlait en anglais, elle répondait en français mais ça, ça n'aide pas! Même avec les anglophones, juste pour leur mettre sur le nez-là. Ou elle faisait des farces niaiseuses, en anglais tu sais, pour leur montrer qu'ils étaient plus bas qu'elle. Si l'on était assis à une table puis tout le monde parlait français puis, quelqu'un arrivait puis qu'il était anglophone, elle aimait continuer à parler en français au lieu d'être polie puis de parler en anglais parce que le type ne pouvait pas le parler. Même avec le directeur, elle a fait ça alors ça a causé des problèmes, de gros problèmes . . . oui, un manque de respect, c'est pousser TROP loin. Ça nous a causé des problèmes puis on a dû travailler deux ans de temps après. [I: Pour les relations publiques?] Oui, oui, tu sais, c'est fâchant. Puis à la longue tu sais, ça n'a pas pris longtemps par exemple que, même le groupe francophone s'est viré contre elle, parce que ça leur causait plus de problèmes et même avec nous, nos relations personnelles, des échanges en classe, des projets qu'on voulait faire ensemble, elle était toujours en train de nous rendre la vie très difficile alors ça n'a pas pris longtemps que personne ne lui parlait là, tu sais. Elle était vraiment mise de côté et puis le problème s'est arrangé par lui-même. Bien finalement, elle a quitté l'école. A part de ça, pour dire qu'on a eu des gros problèmes, on n'en a pas eu.

As not all French Immersion teachers desired to accommodate English-speaking personnel, neither did all English personnel acquiesce to the sensitivities and needs of their French-speaking colleagues. Interestingly, both Elise and Francine individually illustrated this point with the same example(s). They described a situation involving an English program teacher, who had been declared surplus at a former school because of decreased enrollment in the English program due to an increase in French Immersion students. This particular teacher complained to the principal about the fact that the bilingual librarian, who worked at Yellow Ash School at the time, had written messages about French resources on the staff room chalk board in French. Following this complaint, the librarian had to erase her message and rewrite it in English, although it was intended for French Immersion teachers. The complainant justified her request by stating that she was in a dual-track school. Francine agreed; to her, this fact legitimated either language as a means of communicating. Despite her belief, she minimized her

chances to "dare" make an announcement (over the intercom) or write a message on the board in French to avoid having to deal with "many little comments" on the part of the complainant. Caution had become her practice when it came to communicating in public with French Immersion personnel and students. These are the words by which Elise and Francine described this situation:

> Il y en a une, entre-autres . . . on a eu l'année dernière et pendant deux ans, l'année d'avant, la bibliothécaire était bilingue. Alors quand on avait des livres, des choses, tu sais, elle recevait du matériel en français, elle écrivait des notes dans le salon, sur le tableau, en français. Puis, ce prof, elle est allée se plaindre au directeur qu'elle ne voulait pas de notes en français. Il fallait qu'elle efface ça, qu'elle les mette en anglais. Comme ça mais à vrai dire, le seul gros problème qu'on ait jamais eu du côte anglais était avec une femme qui a été déclarée surplus à son école et puis c'est parce que son école était à deux voies et puis dans le fond, les parents ont plus choisi le côté français que le côte anglais, alors les enfants diminuaient . . . diminuaient et puis finalement, il y avait seulement une classe de première année et elle a été déclarée surplus alors le côté français . . . Même maintenant, elle n'est pas heureuse d'avoir le français dans l'école, et puis si jamais j'ose faire un message en français ou écrire un message en français que ce soit la bibliothécaire, n'importe quoi. Elle est allée voir le directeur pour se plaindre parce que la bibliothécaire avait écrit quelque chose au tableau et elle lui a demandé de s'il-vous-plaît, ne plus faire ça puis elle est allée se plaindre parce qu'elle a dit: "Après tout, on est dans une école à deux voies . . . bla-bla-bla" et bien exactement, c'est à deux voies, tu as le droit, tu sais. Alors on fait attention de ce côté-là.

Although it had become the norm for French Immersion teachers to speak to each other in English in the presence of their English-speaking colleagues at this school, Elise recounted a time when they had been given no choice to do so. However, she explained how preposterous this demand was to them. Given how painstakingly they spoke English, especially her colleague, she could not bring herself to deny her the chance to communicate in French, especially since they shared the same students, experienced the same problems and did their work together. At the very least, she saw the two of them as giving support to one another. Due to a lack of knowledge of English and severe

communication problems, her colleague returned to her native home. Elise conveyed this concern for this particular teacher in the following manner:

> On se l'est fait dire, la première année que j'étais ici, avec l'autre prof. qui arrivait du Québec et qui parlait à peine l'anglais. Elle avait beaucoup de difficultés à communiquer, la raison pour laquelle elle y est retournée aussi, parce qu'elle avait de gros problèmes de communication avec tout le monde. On s'était fait dire qu'on n'avait pas le droit de parler français dans le salon des profs. J'ai dit: "Je m'excuse là, mais ma collègue ne parle pas l'anglais. Je ne me mettrai pas à lui parler anglais. C'est ridicule. On partage les mêmes enfants. On a les même problèmes. On fait notre travail ensemble." Au moins, on se supportait toutes les deux, dans nos problèmes.

The reluctance to abide by the "No speaking in French" rule could perhaps explain why Francine recalled a "reserved table of Francophones" and "then the others" in the staff. She said that it took a long time for this Francophone group to dissolve; and this, she admitted, was helpful to reopen lines of communication between English and French-speaking teachers. She reminisced about the staff room ambience this way:

> Je me souviens quand je suis venu en premier, il y avait une table de francophones puis après ça, les autres. Et puis, ce n'était pas qu'on ne se parlait pas, mais c'est qu'il y avait un coin réservé pour . . . Et puis, ça n'a pas pris longtemps que finalement ça s'est défait ce groupe-là comme tel, mais ça a beaucoup aidé aussi.

Francine also remembered some stressful times in the staff room in earlier years, which she partly attributed to a fear of job loss on the part of English program teachers. She explained that:

> Parce qu'avant, au début, on était pas mal stressé parce qu'il y en avait à l'école, surtout du côté anglophone, qui se sentait un peu visés. Ils avaient peur de perdre leur position à un moment donné alors, c'était différent, disons, dans le "staff room."

Elise referred to past conflicts between French Immersion and English program teachers as indicative of "ignorance" on the part of English teachers. She exemplified what she meant by "ignorance" with instances wherein French Immersion teachers were

meant to feel "incompetent" because they were perceived as "dumping" students with special needs into English program teachers' laps. She voiced her thoughts like this:

> Des conflits avec le côté anglais, c'était vraiment de l'ignorance, vraiment là dans le sens. "Ah bien, c'est tout en français vous-autres, tout ce que vous faites. C'est comme si vous avez un enfant à problème, vous nous les "domper" dans nos classes hum . . . pas capable de vous débrouiller." Puis tu sais, le genre comme ça là, puis le reste du temps, ça se parlait pas vraiment.

Elise noticed improved communication, increased teamwork and fewer conflicts between teachers of French Immersion and English programs. Although she maintained that there were still a few staff members who were unhappy at the presence/existence of the French Immersion program in the school, they kept more quiet as they were in the minority. She elaborated upon her observations as follows:

> Maintenant, je trouve qu'il y a beaucoup plus de communication. On travaille plus en équipe. Il y a moins de conflits entre Français et Anglais comme il y en avait avant. Par contre, il y a encore quelques personnes qui sont ici, du côté anglais qui, je sais très bien, n'aime pas le français, mais maintenant parce qu'ils sont minoritaires, ils se tiennent tranquilles.

Present on some teachers' minds at Yellow Ash School was the relative instability of Canada's political climate and its potential repercussions on the future of French Immersion programs across the nation. A couple of participants explained their fears.

According to Elise, "keeping quiet" was the motto of all staff members, whether French or English-speaking, when it came to politically sensitive issues such as Meech Lake. No one wanted to risk saying anything for fear of offending anyone. While awaiting the outcome of the Meech Lake Accord and possible developments such as the separation of the province of Québec from the rest of Canada, another burning question on French Immersion teachers' minds such as Francine, was whether their program would be cut. At this time, the tables were reversed from earlier years and it was French-

speaking teachers who feared a potential job loss. It was in this way that Francine recalled the staff room's political climate:

> Meech Lake, puis tout le monde n'en parlait pas dans l'école parce que tout le monde avait peur de dire quelque chose qui n'était pas . . . tu sais . . . fâcher quelqu 'un d'autre puis là, tout d'un coup, le Québec voulait se séparer et puis que tout ça était sur le tapis. Puis là, tout le monde sur le côté français se demandait: "Est-ce qu'ils vont nous couper nos programmes, est-ce que ça veut dire qu'à un moment donné, on n'aura pas de jobs. Est-ce que, est-ce que, est-ce que" . . . t'avais peur, mais ça ce n'était pas si grave. Ce qui m'a finalement rentré dans mon affaire, qui m'a vraiment convaincu puis que je me suis dit: "Ça y est."

The "Québec issue" also had George wonder whether it was not going to contribute to a decrease of student enrollment in the French Immersion program, as he had already received some inquiries from parents about transferring their very successful students into the English program. He also questioned whether French Immersion parents would still value French and deem it to be important in Canada in subsequent years. He could not answer his own question as parents also were keeping quiet. He articulated his thoughts by stating that:

> I was wondering about that when a couple of parents were asking about putting their students in English next year, like top students whose parents were wondering that and I was thinking I wonder if they think that with the Quebec issue maybe in a few years that French won't be important in Canada, but no one has actually came out and said anything.

Denis had not yet felt the potentially latent repercussions of the "Québec issue." In fact, he found that the opportunities for professional experience and growth were greater and more gratifying in Alberta, because he perceived a greater support for French as a second language in this province as compared with others. He expressed his impression(s) as follows:

> De toute façon, puis en Alberta, et bien moi je trouve qu'ici, les opportunités sont beaucoup plus grandes, plus satisfaisantes que dans les autres provinces. Je pense qu'on a beaucoup plus de support par rapport à d'autres professeurs d'autres provinces.

To illustrate his point, he referred to some political and linguistic tensions which had been publicized about a town/city in Ontario. He wondered what it would be like

when "seeing that the whole population is against you" and tried to imagine one's lack of sense of self-worth and sense of purpose as a teacher of French Immersion:

> Si tu compares un professeur d'immersion de mettons Sault-St-Marie, Ontario, tu sais qu'il y a eu des tensions politiques puis linguistiques, tu sais. Je me demande, si tu n'enseignes que le français que tu vois que la population est contre toi, tu sais, tu te demandes, tu réfléchis à ton geste puis tu te dis: "Mon dieu, c'est quoi est-ce que ça donne de faire ça."

A couple of participants believed that French Immersion programming was a means by which to transform negative attitudes toward French into positive ones over time.

Based upon his own experience and what others had relayed to him, he had witnessed a positive attitude toward French in general, with the exception of one or two instances whereby he was referred to as "the Francophone, the Frog, French." He said that:

> Tandis qu'ici moi, toute l'attitude que j'ai vue, tout ce que les gens nous rapporte, ce que je vois dans les centres d'achats, je ne me suis jamais fait . . . bon peut-être une ou deux fois, tu sais là des gens qui te disent. "Ah tu es francophone . . . le frog . . . French."

At the time of the interview with Denis, the increasing popularity of the French Immersion program since its inception to that point had given him the belief or hope that it would be the "attitude of children" that would change any negativity vis-à-vis French one day. He predicted that young people who were now taking French would become more receptive toward the French culture. He attributed increased changes in this direction to the existence and growth of the program up to that point. He strongly believed that:

> C'est l'attitude des enfants qui va changer ça un jour. Etant donné qu'ils prennent le français plus tard, ils vont êtres plus enclins, plus réceptifs à l'autre culture, la culture française et puis là on voit de plus en plus de changements, ça c'est parce que moi je crois que les programmes d'immersion étaient populaires et puis deviennent de plus en plus populaires. C'est ça que je trouve intéressant.

Increased receptivity toward French by children as opposed to adults had already been felt by Francine, who stated that, or witnessed interestingly, complaints about French announcements over the intercom "never ever came from students, but always from teachers." These were her exact words: "Par contre, c'est intéressant, les plaintes ne viennent jamais--jamais des enfants, c'est toujours des profs."

Francine found this situation unfortunate because she saw a desire not only in French Immersion children, but also in regular English program students to learn the second language. She elaborated on this observation quite at length by explaining that in all of her Physical Education classes which she taught in English, students wanted her to play number games in French and enjoyed it a lot. Whether it was their parents' decision or their own to opt out of the French Immersion program, she found that English program students regarded second language learning as "fun," "different" and "special," irrespective of the language of study in question. To them, it was "something new" and they wanted to say "Bonjour," "Aurevoir" and "Bonne journée" when they saw her in the hallway. She reiterated twice that it was the teachers who were problems, not the children. She found that sometimes, this situation of differing teacher-student attitudes became problematic to children of the regular English program. She described this situation as such:

> Parce que j'enseigne maintenant quatre classes en anglais et puis les enfants sont toujours en train de me demander: "Montre-nous d'autres mots," alors quand je fais l'éducation physique, à chaque fois, j'ai trente-et-un élèves, trente-quatre dans cette classe là et puis pour chaque jeu, tout le reste des enfants s'assoient puis ils veulent que je leur donne les numéros en français. Puis ensuite, on passe à travers, on les mélange parce qu'ils veulent apprendre les numéros, puis on joue le jeu puis on crie des numéros en français, pour qu'il me laisse jouer puis ils aiment beaucoup ça. Ils veulent apprendre les mots, c'est les profs là qui . . . C'est de valeur parce que ça cause parfois des problèmes avec les enfants aussi parce que le groupe anglophone, même s'ils ne veulent pas le prendre ou, les parents ne veulent pas, les enfants trouvent que c'est le "fun", c'est différent. Les autres sont peut-être un peu plus choyés: "Wow, they are learning something different" et puis ils trouvent ça spécial que ça serait l'espagnol, le chinois, n'importe quoi, c'est spécial, c'est quelque chose de nouveau puis ils veulent le faire alors eh . . . Quand tu disais: "Bonjour," "Aurevoir, " et "Bonne journée," les enfants me rencontraient dans le

> corridor puis "Bonjour!" puis ils te le disent, alors ce ne sont pas les enfants, ce sont les profs qui sont le problème.

A few of the participants spoke about the difficulties they had in communicating with one another, in gaining respect for each other, and in accepting the other.

To communicate effectively in English was sometimes a struggle for teachers such as Elise. Her "efforts to integrate herself, speak in English and try to communicate" had sometimes been reciprocated by a perceived lack of respect on the part of certain English teachers, "who found it funny when [Francophone teachers] made errors when speaking." She recounted a critical incident which had occurred when she attempted to make an announcement on behalf of a school-wide committee. She described her French language skills as being "comme-ci, comme-ça" at the time, and her disposition as being "nervous" as she had to speak in front of the whole staff; "it was not easy." When making the error of saying "puis là là which loosely translates into "and, huh, huh ...," an English teacher began to laugh as she thought the situation funny. Elise said that at that moment, she "turned about," "did not take it" and said to her colleague: "Try to say it in French." She told her "very abruptly," in front of all present, and then proceeded to sit down. Following this incident, a former administrator, in charge of her evaluation, told her she needed to have a better sense of humour. She responded to his observation with the following remarks:

> I'm sorry, but there are people here who show a great lack of respect. Us (Francophones), we make twice as many efforts to integrate ourselves [into the English environment], talk in English, try to communicate, and them [Anglophones], they laugh at us." I have to have a sense of humour --the next time, I will be very sarcastic and I will laugh, it's going to be funny. (Translation)

Elise found it "ridiculous" and nonsensical that the administrator should have included that she should have a better sense of humour in her performance report. Francine contended that a number of misunderstandings had occurred between Francophone teachers and a former administration, mainly "because people did not speak English well to be able to manage with [name of administrator], and he, in turn, did not

know enough French" to properly communicate with them. In the end, in Francine's mind, language skills in either language or a lack thereof could be at the source of a bigger problem.

Incidents of this nature were critical in that they served as determining factors in further communication among teachers and administrators alike. This point could be well illustrated by the following critical incident, as told by Francine. She had once received a letter from central office notifying all new teachers to attend a meeting which was to take place at 3:30 p.m. at a location situated at about a half-hour from her place of work. She wondered how she could make it at the meeting in time, as her classes ended at 3:30 p.m. To help her with this dilemma, she consulted one of her then-administrators to ask him whether she could leave the school early to arrive at the meeting promptly or whether she should arrive late and whether it was so important that she should attend. In answer to her question, the administrator responded to her "in a very cold manner": "You're going, you work it out and you're going." This critical incident was enough to halt all communication between the administrator and Elise, who said: "Okay, that's it, I'm not talking to him anymore. I'm like that . . . You make me do an about-face once; so that was it, I was no longer speaking to him."

> Il m'a dit de façon très froide: "Tu y vas, tu te débrouilles puis tu y vas." Okay, c'est fini, je ne lui ai plus parlé. Moi je suis comme ça . . . Tu me vires de bord une seule fois, ça fait que ça été fini, je ne lui parlais plus.

It becomes apparent that barriers to communication were not always due to language skills per se, but perhaps to different ideologies or ways of viewing the world, stemming from distinct languages and/or cultures of origin. Even one of the bilingual administrators working at the time experienced major conflicts with his co-administrator.

This state of conflicting views was, in Elise's eyes, very much reflected in the atmosphere among staff members at the time.

> Quand j'avais quelque chose à demander, j'allais voir le vice-principal, qui était bilingue à l'époque. Mais lui aussi avait des gros conflits avec le directeur, alors déjà dans l'administration, il y avait des conflits puis ça se réflétait beaucoup beaucoup dans l'atmosphère du personnel à l'époque.

Strangely enough, experiencing a situation of conflict with another could sometimes lead to a healthier and more respectful rapport between two people. Elise recalled a third critical incident, which in this case, brought about a détente, as opposed to a cold war between her Anglophone colleague and herself.

Shortly after her arrival at Elise's school, her Anglophone colleague took it upon herself to "tell her what to do" in relation to her teaching. Francine told her:

> Get off my back, I know what I have to do. I teach in French, I may teach at the same level as you do, but I know what I must do in my class. Don't come and tell me what I have to do. I may not have 25 years of experience, but I know what I must do; so, you are going to stop telling me what to do. (Translation)

Indeed, her colleague did stop instructing her as to how to teach, and pursuant to this incident, the rapport between both teachers became "more relaxed." In Elise's view, they "respect each other" and "she doesn't step on [her] toes anymore." She attributed the amelioration in their rapport to having openly told her colleague what she thought.

The question of communication remained problematic when it came to teacher relations outside of the school. Helena relayed an incident critical to relations between Anglophone and Francophone staff members. She recounted that a birthday celebration had taken place at a Francophone teacher's home, to which all Francophone teachers had been invited. Upon hearing this, a few Anglophone teachers had gotten a "little upset"; Francophone teachers had not thought of inviting the entire staff. It was Helena's view, who was Francophile rather than Francophone, that these Anglophone teachers did not understand the need for the French-speaking staff to get together because they simply "had a lot in common." She found it "normal" for these teachers to invite each other to

celebrate particular occasions together. She added that although Francophone teachers were in the habit of letting all staff members know about a Friday after-hours outing at a local restaurant/lounge by way of a written message of the staffroom board, only 2 or 3 Anglophone teachers usually showed up at these gatherings.

Evidently, what, when and how to communicate were important issues among staff members of this particular dual or multi-track school, and had to be considered seriously when taking on a leadership position, as exemplified by Francine.

As she had moved from a position of informal to formal leadership, Francine felt that she constantly had to guard herself against helping the "French side" more than the "English side" in order to show that both parties/programs were treated equally. She said that:

> Maintenant, c'est un peu différent, parce qu'on me voit de façon plus officielle. Je dois toujours faire attention de ne pas aider le côté français plus que le côté anglais tu sais, toujours montrer l'égalité entre les deux.

She noted that people consulted her to get her opinion(s) on various matters, but that it was done away from everyone's view "behind the scenes," especially by Anglophone staff members.

> On vient me voir pour mon avis tu sais mais "behind the scenes," pour que pas tout le monde le voit, pas du côté français, plus sur le côté anglophone.

She gave the example of school librarians coming to her to inform her about ways to better meet French Immersion program resources needs. For instance, they would say to her: "I know you [French Immersion personnel] need this, so we'll just do it this way and that way." Because of their objectivity, Francine believed that these librarians could "see the [resource] needs," the lack thereof, whether they were linked to English, French to other language programs. Her point was made in the words below:

> Si la bibliothécaire vient nous voir, elle sait qu'on a aucunement autant de ressources que le côté anglais. Alors, elle dit: "I know you need this, so we'll just do it this way and this way," tu sais. Elle s'arrange; ce qui est très gentil de sa part, puis l'autre bibliothécaire aussi faisait la même chose, mais c'est parce qu' . . . elles sont plus objectives. C'étaient deux femmes, alors juste parce qu'elles sont dans la bibliothèque et puis

> elles, leur grand domaine est la bibliothèque. Elles voient les besoins, n'importe que ce soit anglais ou français que ce soit ukrainien, les ressources ne sont pas là pour ce groupe-là et puis elles voient le besoin, le manque, alors c'est pour ça qu'elles le font de ce côté-là.

Despite this recognition of French Immersion needs by personnel such as librarians, they also were careful not to show favoritism toward any of the programs housed in the school in order to avoid complaints from certain staff members. Francine put it this way: "Mais ils font attention parce qu'ils savent qu'il y a certains groupes qui vont chialer. Mais je dois toujours faire attention d'être juste entre les deux."

This state of constant alert for the sake of showing equality between programs on the part of administrators, French Immersion teachers and/or support staff such as school librarians inevitably led to countless compromises vis-à-vis the French Immersion program. Compromises in terms of physical and human resources, language(s) of instruction, language(s) of use in the staff room and in the school as a whole, etc. often had undesirable effects on the French Immersion programs in relation to student motivation, students' language competencies, etc. To Francine, the treatment of programs was "not equal" and she did not believe it would ever be. For example, the day this participant was interviewed, she had made two announcements over the intercom, to call upon some French Immersion teachers. When making her second announcement, she overheard the following comment: "Well, look, an announcement in French now." At that point, she had thought "Ah, it's always like that, you're always being careful, compromises--you always watch out. In her own words, she stated that:

> Ce n'est pas égal puis je ne pense pas que ça le sera jamais, parce qu'aujour d'hui, j'ai fait deux annonces en français, j'ai dit: "Mlle [Name of French Immersion teacher]." J'ai fait un autre appel, je ne me souviens plus à qui et puis moi, j'étais à la machine, j'ai entendu un commentaire parce que la porte était ouverte: "Bon, tiens une annonce en français maintenant." Je me disais: "Ah . . . " C'est toujours comme ça, tu fais toujours attention, des compromis . . . tu fais toujours attention.

It appeared as though a combination of past and recent experiences involving political issues such as languages spoken in the staff room and the like heavily influenced

a number of French Immersion teachers' decision to keep the status quo at Yellow Ash School.

Blue Spruce School

To a number of participants at Blue Spruce School, the matter of the language spoken in the staff room was one of "discretion," and appeared to cause little conflict among teachers. This may have been due to the coexistence of three language programs within the school. A number of teachers felt the combination of an English, French Immersion and other language bilingual programs was conducive to a healthy work environment, as there seemed to be an open-mindedness toward second and third language learning. However, some French Immersion teachers admitted that there was a tendency to make concessions to the majority program (i. e., English), in terms of educational resources. Canada's socio-political turmoil caused some teachers to worry about the possible extinction of French Immersion programs.

Many participants at Blue Spruce School raised the issue of which language to speak in the staff room. Reasons for talking in English in the presence of their non-French-speaking colleagues ranged widely from one French Immersion teacher to another.

To Keith, the question of which language was spoken in the staff room in a multi-track school was not a matter of tolerance, or lack thereof, but rather a matter of discretion. In his case, he felt at liberty to speak in the language of his choice, but noted that he would obviously speak in English if someone sitting at his table only spoke that language. He said that:

> Je pense qu'on a déjà eu des discussions dans le passé, mais on a jamais eu de problèmes . . . Ecoute, je parle en anglais dans la salle de professeurs parce que je ne pense pas que les gens . . . les gens ne tolèrent pas ça tu parles la langue que tu veux puis utilise de la discrétion quand même. Tu sais ce que je veux dire. S'il y a quelqu'un qui parle anglais à la table, tu parles anglais, c'est bien évident.

Similarly, Yves perceived teachers as feeling comfortable at speaking in their language of preference, but also specified that if there were a unilingual English-speaking individual sitting at the same table, teachers would switch to the English language: "Par contre, s'il y a quelqu'un qui est assis à la table avec quelqu'un, puis ils parlent anglais, on va changer en anglais par politesse."

Although Monique confirmed that there were no overt rules as to which language was to be spoken in the staff room among teachers of the three language program streams, she did explain that there were subtle messages given to teachers to speak in English, as in the translation below:

> It's more subtle here. As in some other schools, we are not told: When you step into the staff room, things function/happen in English, no, no, but look here. At the table, there was [name of English program teacher], Johanne and Pauline, before [name of another English program teacher] and you [researcher] arrived, I was speaking in French, and Johanne told me: "Out of politeness, you could speak in English." So I said: "What do you mean 'out of politeness'? Do you mean to tell me that I am impolite, we are in a majority situation here [at this table]. (Translation)

Johanne acknowledged that the language to be spoken in the staff room did sometimes cause conflict, but that it was not always perceptible by all. She gave the same example as Monique did in less detail to make her point.

In Johanne's case, it appeared as though her personal lived experiences in three cultural milieu are what strongly influenced her need to interact with, and her choice of languages with colleagues of all three language programs at Blue Spruce School. She explained that:

> I am married to a [person of the same origin as the third language program at Blue Spruce School], I come from an English-speaking family and I speak French. So, I can see three sides because my husband's friends speak in [name of third language] and I do not understand one word. So I am sympathetic, perhaps more conscious of the need to speak English in the presence of a unilingual English-speaking individual, because I lived the experience, and I did not like it. So, it comes from personal experience.

Besides her professional relations or associations being motivated by the good of the student, they were also dictated by her concern not to be criticized for associating with French Immersion teachers only on the one hand, and by teachers' individual personalities on the other hand. She elaborated on her conscious decision to mix with teachers of all programs in the following passage:

> C'est un peu les deux comme prises de décisions. L'autre école à laquelle j'étais, on m'avait fait le commentaire une fois que les professeurs de français étaient toujours . . . et les professeurs d'anglais dans une autre classe. Alors moi je me suis toujours dit: "Non, je ne veux jamais faire ça," alors j'ai pris une décision très précise aussi de toujours être, de faire l'effort d'aller m'asseoir avec les autres, mais aussi c'est juste une question de personnalité, je m'assoie avec les personnes avec qui je m'entend. J'essaie de m'asseoir avec différentes personnes au cours de la journée, juste pour jaser. Alors c'est un peu les deux.

Both Yves and Keith commented on the co-existence of three language programs within Blue Spruce School as being helpful in reducing the tension between English and French Immersion programs. Keith added that one of the criteria needed to be hired at Blue Spruce School would have to be one of open-mindedness because one was likely to hear any of the three languages offered at the school. They said:

> J'aime bien l'école ici. Il y a une bonne atmosphere. Ça va bien puis je pense que c'est une bonne affaire d'avoir trois programmes. Je pense que ça l'aide beaucoup. Je pense qu'il y a moins de tensions entre français-anglais parce qu'il y a le français, anglais et [name of third language program] alors tu sais, je crois qu'il y a une ouverture d'esprit, puis je pense que si on t'embauche à cette école-ci, il faut vraiment que tu sois ouvert d'esprit parce que sinon tu entends [name of third language] tu entends le français. [Name of third language] on ne l'entend pas beaucoup. Ça c'est le "fun". Il y en a certains comme [Name of third language teacher], il va nous parler, il va parler avec ses collègues en [name of third language] des fois mais c'est surtout dans la salle de classe. Je pense que ce n'est pas aussi évident des fois [name of third language], mais c'est bien. Je pense que ça fait changement mais je pense qu'il y a beaucoup d'écoles d'immersion tu sais avec la voie anglaise, puis la voie française, puis ça va aussi bien, mais ici je trouve que . . . puis aussi on fait un effort qui est assez évident. Faut le travailler, ça se travaille ça, tu sais, une bonne atmosphère.
>
> (Keith)

> Ici, il y a trois programmes, puis je pense que ça l'aide [à bien s'entendre].
>
> (Yves)

Thus, the co-existence of three language programs, English, French and another, seemed to be conducive to a healthy work environment to Teachers I and K. In fact, Yves believed that "there was a genuine respect for all of these programs as each was valued, and this perceived reality was largely due to the school's administrative team which was careful to make everyone feel as important as the other" (Translation).

Yves also found it beneficial that some of the other language program teachers at Blue Spruce School also knew French in that they possessed an open-mindedness toward second and third language learning.

Some participants feared that the outcome of the *Meech Lake Accord* may jeopardize the future of French Immersion programming in Canada, and they communicated this to me in a group situation in one of our first meetings. However, it was only Yves who raised this concern again in a subsequent interview.

Even though Yves perceived a strong support for second language learning at Blue Spruce School, he spoke at length about his concern(s) about the future of French Immersion programs, given the socio-political context of Canada at the time of this study.

In his opinion, French Immersion programs should be motivated by educational issues/purposes, not by political motives. He affirmed that:

> Je pense que l'apprentissage de deux, trois ou quatre langues ne devrait pas être laissé entre les mains de quelques politiciens. La langue ne doit pas être apprise due aux demandes de la province. Elle devrait être apprise pour t'épanouir, pour ton propre bien-être, et pour faciliter la communication.

Yves felt enormously affected as a parent and as a teacher by the socio-political turmoil Canada was undergoing at this time. Talk about the eventuality of the separation of Québec from Canada precipitated thoughts of the extinction of French Immersion programs across the country, and was surely not acting as a motivating factor for French Immersion teachers. The uncertainty vis-à-vis the future of the program left them wondering why they should teach French, push it, and try to motivate students to learn

and live it when "supposed leaders" [politicians] did not support it. His concerns were voiced as such:

> Ça affecte les gens. Je pense qu'ils le font pour ça. Quand tu lis, tu entends toujours que le Québec va se séparer. Tu entends parler souvent d'autres gens de ton âge, d'une même education, de professions libérales comme nous qui disent: "Bien, si le Québec se sépare, les programmes d'immersion vont disparaître: Bon ecoute, bien moi, je ne prends pas le français pour les Québecois. Bon ça, je ne pense pas que c'est un facteur motivant pour le professeur si l'on parle. Maintenant, il y a beaucoup de politiciens, il y a même des partis politiques, un parti politique en particulier qui dit ouvertement qu'il aime bien les francophones, mais seulement chez eux, puis non, mais il y a beaucoup de gens qui l'appuient alors des fois tu te demandes mais moi qu'est-ce que je fais ici? J'enseigne le français, je le pousse, j'essaie de motiver les gens, j'essaie que les jeunes le vivent puis il y a des leaders, des supposés leaders quand ils vont entrer au pouvoir dans quelques années vont dire: On n'en veut plus." Je veux dire c'est contradictoire la situation, puis le fait que d'autres provinces à l'autre bout du Canada parle et parle de se séparer, ça ce n'est certainement pas motivant pour les programmes français.

To Yves, the political question of what would happen to the bilingual nature of Canada if Québec were not recognized as being distinct as per the Meech Lake Accord was worrisome in that it would perhaps remove people's idea to learn French as a second language.

The status of second language programming was a concern of a different kind for Monique. Of all the participants at Blue Spruce School, she was the only one who voiced it explicitly.

She commented on French Immersion teachers' tendency to make too many concessions to the majority program, i.e. English at Blue Spruce School. She gave the example of educational resources, which were available both in French and English as having been purchased in English only, because of considerations such as costs and the language of learning of the student population in the majority.

In the case of the care-kit, Monique made it clear to her administrators that she would not use it in her classroom if it were not purchased in French, given that so few materials of this kind were available in the target language.

She maintained that:

> Quand la [trousse] "care-kit" a été proposée ici, bien avant qu'elle ne soit proposée, moi je suis allée voir [Principal Benjamin] puis je lui ai dit: "Ecoute, il y a une trousse de disques, je la veux en français, dans ma classe." Elle coutait $500. Comme la majorité des gens parle en anglais, on a pensé l'acheter en anglais, ça fait que là-dessus j'ai dit à [Principal Benjamin] "Fine, je ne le veux pas dans ma classe." Alors, ils ont décidé de le faire [à différents niveaux]. Si tu le fais, tu vas le faire en français dans ma classe, surtout qu'il existe . . . On a assez de matériels qui n'existent pas puis c'est là que je trouve que les profs ne chiallent pas assez, sous prétexte que: "Bien, ça coûte cher, puis il y a plus d'enfants qui parlent anglais, on va l'acheter en anglais."

Political issues appeared to be less of an issue at Blue Spruce School, but perhaps it was because French Immersion teachers acquiesced to the lowest common denominator, which was in this case, English, in order to avoid conflict.

Red Cedar School

Unlike some other schools, Red Cedar School had not established a set policy on the language(s) to be spoken in the staff room. Rather, the language of use was a question of diplomacy left to the staff members' discretion. For some French Immersion teachers at Red Cedar School, the issue was not so much which language to speak in the staff room, but rather the language of use between French Immersion teachers in the hallways, especially in the presence of their students. Difficulties in teaching in a minority situation were expressed by a number of participants. Students' political environment was also believed to have some influences on their ability and motivation to learn French. Problems about having to "run after materials" were also expressed by a number of teachers, and there was a perception that the other language bilingual program was favored by the school administrators over the French Immersion one.

The language of use in the staff room did not seem to be an issue at Red Cedar School. Only one participant spoke at length about which language should be spoken among French Immersion teachers in the hallways. She provided explanations to support her position on this matter.

Ursula suspected that the absence of an explicit language policy was due to the co-existence of three rather than two language programs within a school.

She also recognized the need for two immersion teachers to shift to the English language to include an Anglo-unilingual individual into the conversation, simply as a matter of courtesy.

> Je sais qu'il n y a pas vraiment de politique d'établie. Ça n'a pas été fait peut-être parce qu'il y a trois programmes et qu'on laisse ça ouvert, à la discrétion mais oui je comprends le point vue, à un moment donné, s'il y a deux professeurs d'immersion qui parlent ensemble puis une troisième personne s'ajoute puis elle est unilingue anglaise, alors oui c'est de la diplomatie de parler en anglais pour l'incorporer à notre discussion si elle [la personne] veut bien. Je peux comprendre ça.

By the same token, upon meeting a colleague in the hallway or even in a small group composed uniquely of Francophones, "[Ursula] could not see why [they] would not speak French."

At Red Cedar School, Ursula did not feel constraint at "taking the liberty" to speak French, and would feel her "right" to do so violated if someone were to disallow/forbid her to speak in the language of her choice. She stated her stand/stance as follows:

> C'est l'autre élément disons dans le corridor ou même un petit groupe ensemble pi qu'on soit juste des francophones. Je ne verrais pas pourquoi on ne parlerait pas français tu sais c'est à ce point de vue-là. Ici, non on est quand même assez libre, en tous les cas, moi je la prend la liberté parce que si jamais on m'approchait et qu'on me defendait de parler le français, je pense que ça irait mal à la "shop", comme on dit, parce que c'est mon droit.

Issues/questions of rights and freedoms aside, Ursula gave other reasons for not speaking English in the staff room at times.

One of the reasons provided was the mutual need of two predominantly unilingual francophones to reach each other on a human level first and foremost. Ursula illustrated her point with the example translated below:

> I find it difficult as well . . . another teacher who comes from Québec like myself. She is sitting in front of me. I must speak with her in English? It [the topic] has nothing to do . . . Humanly speaking, I could not do it

> because I know that . . . She is more at ease in French. I am more at ease in French, so why not speak it? (Translation)

Another reason for sometimes not speaking in English with other French Immersion teachers was rooted in the concept/principle of Teacher as Model.

Ursula reported that in previous French Immersion meetings, teachers had highlighted the importance of taking the necessary means to provide students with a solid "language baggage."

Despite this consensus among French Immersion teachers, Ursula noted the "lack of consistency" between teacher behaviour and teacher expectations/exigencies. The following example was provided:

> So you turn around and what do you hear? Two teachers in the hallway, two French Immersion teachers who are speaking English to each other. Children see this . . . that is what I [mean in terms of] lack of consistency between teachers and their demands. So, what do we ask of our children? Children learn by imitating. Anyway, I find that it's a lack. I haven't dared tell them because I don't think that it's my job to do so. They are the models. (Translation)

This "lack of consistency" between what teachers require of their students "and them not doing it themselves" was indicative of "something not being right somewhere," in Ursula's eyes. She questioned her right to intervene in this situation in light of professional ethics, as intervention implied placing a judgment on colleagues. She explained her position like this:

> Pour moi . . . il y a quelque chose qui n'est pas correct à quelque part. Je vois tout ça, mais je trouve que je ne sais pas jusqu'à quel point mon rôle me permet d'aller parce que c'est juger, c'est l'éthique professionnelle. Il faut que je fasse attention à tout ça, mais je vois. Je peux pas faire autrement que le voir.

Thus, it seemed that in Ursula's case, the issue that needed to be addressed was not so much the language to be spoken in the staff room among personnel of all three programs, but rather the language to be spoken between French Immersion teachers in the presence of their students, be it in the hallways or elsewhere.

Ursula's view that not all French Immersion teachers had "the same love" [of the language] was frustrating to her, as French was "[her] life" and it permeated every atom/pore of her being. She said that:

> Je trouve ça un peu frustrant, comme le rôle que j'ai ici, dans le sens que pour moi, c'est ma vie, c'est ma langue. Je la vis, je l'ai jusqu'au bout des doigts, mais je sens que c'est pas pour tout le monde . . . le même amour, disons . . . je dirais des autres profs d'immersion.

A number of teachers were concerned about the future of French Immersion in view of Canada's political situation as well as the perceived lack of political will to support this program on the part of the local district senior administrators. They offered several reasons to substantiate their views.

Perhaps, French Immersion teachers did not share the same love of the language, but in light of Canada's political situation in 1990-1991, it was the sentiment shared by all Canadians toward the place of Québec and French within Canada that Rachel worried about the most, as in her opinion, it would have major repercussions upon the retention and survival of French-immersion programs across the nation. She expressed her concern as follows: "Aussi, avec le sentiment 'du Canada', est-ce que notre programme va survivre? Je suis [une] francophone de l'Alberta, mais les gens me disent souvent: 'Retourne chez toi si tu n'aimes pas ce qui se passe.' Je suis chez moi!"

Rachel wondered if Canada's political climate would not contribute even more to the already declining enrolment of French Immersion students at the year 4 to 12 levels. Ursula also suspected that there would be some political influences on schools and their programs. Already, it was difficult for French Immersion students to experience schooling in a linguistic and cultural minority situation, without having to be influenced by external comments, no matter how open-minded their parents may be. Ursula explained:

> Au niveau politique, qu'est-ce qui se passe? Je ne sais pas. Ça va peut-être influencer nos écoles. C'est dur de vivre la situation minoritaire. Pour les enfants, c'est bien beau le français, on le parle au Québec, mais peut-être qu'ils entendent à la maison: "Mais, voyons, le français." On ne sait pas ce

> qui se passe, qu'est-ce que l'autre son de cloche que les enfants ont d'apprendre le français. Habituellement, les parents qui mettent leurs enfants en immersion sont très ouverts et sont pour la langue française, mais les commentaires sont là à l'extérieur; ce qui fait que ça influence, définitivement.

In Ursula's opinion, the decline in French Immersion enrolment also stemmed from the top [administrators]. Having witnessed this situation, teachers' reactions were "to fight harder/more or to let it be/give up." The pervading attitude of administrators, according to Ursula, was: "Don't ask too much of me, or I won't grant it to you." In this case, either the person pushes/goes for it or retrieves/is put back in his or her place."

Wilma found that the greater the involvement on the part of school administrators and consulting services, the richer the French Immersion program was. She described the extent to which the presence of a former second language consultant was felt by French Immersion teachers district-wide.

> Elle était extraordinaire. Elle simpliquait dans tout. Elle nous stimulait beaucoup sans s'en rendre compte, peut-être. Elle travaillait comme une folle, mais il me semble que l'on sentait sa présence autant. Des fois, on recevait une petite note dans notre boîte aux lettres qui disait. "Bon, il y a tel matériel, que vous pouvez utiliser, c'est vraiment intéressant. Il y a telle chose qui se passe," Tu sais, on sentait toujours qu'elle était là. On sentait qu'elle était disponible pour nous-autres, puis on sentait qu'elle travaillait fort, puis qu'elle bougeait beaucoup de choses puis on le sentait fort.

The extent to which some French Immersion teachers felt supported by this former key second language consultant was also mentioned by Ursula, who said:

> Elle travaillait les fins de semaine. Elle est déjà venue chez moi un samedi toute la journée pour m'aider à planifier. Elle ne comptait pas ses heures du tout. On sentait qu'en tant que prof. d'immersion, qu'elle est venue dans ma classe pour m'évaluer pas juste m'évaluer, m'aider ou il y avait des lacunes et tout ça.

This particular second language consultant was considered, by Ursula, as having been one of a few key people "to have fought for the program." In Ursula's opinion, the political climate surrounding French Immersion programs combined with increased responsibilities may have precipitated this second language consultant's departure. She added that perhaps, the consultant "cared too much about the program" and that "[she]

was unsure if this was well regarded as one [top administrators] had to keep a certain control so that it [French Immersion programming] may not become too popular."

Following the departure of this particular consultant, the nature of the job responsibilities of second language consulting work changed and became so dispersed and varied that, according to Ursula, French Immersion teachers no longer had access to the same quality of services as in the past, and "no longer felt that someone was there to help [them]." Specifically, Ursula stated that:

> Bon ça c'était un des "top." C'est sûr que l'on ne peut pas avoir des [name of consultant] partout après [elle]. Ils l'ont remplacé. Bon, ils l'ont eu à l'usure. Je pense qu'elle est partie à l'usure, parce que ça devenait très politisé. Ça devenait très difficile pour elle, je pense, ça c'est mon opinion personnelle. Sa charge devenait de plus en plus difficile à prendre, puis je ne sais pas si c'est voulu au pas, je ne suis pas assez dans le milieu pour te dire, mais en tous les cas, ils l'ont eu. Elle est partie, elle est partie aussi parce qu'elle y tenait trop au programme. C'etait une qui se battait fort, puis je ne suis pas sûr si c'était bien vu OK parce qu'il fallait quand même qu'ils gardent un certain contrôle OK pour que ça ne devienne pas trop populaire quand même, mais avant ça, il y a eu des bonnes femmes comme [Name of another individual] qui est une dans le programme d'immersion. Elle n'était pas conseillère, mais ah oui, elles se sont battues ces femmes-là, heureusement qu'on les a eu. Nous, on est arrivé. On avait quand même des choses à travailler, mais elles n'avaient rien quand tu dis même pas un papier en français là, tu ne peux pas travailler. Alors bon ensuite, [Name of former second language consultant] est partie ils l'ont remplacé, mais graduellement ils ont tellement dispersé le travail que chaque conseillère, que notre conseillère pédagogique est supposée faire, ils l'ont tellement dispersé. Ils leur demandent tellement de faire plein d'autres choses que nous, on n'a pas le service finalement . . . On ne sent pas qu'il y a quelqu'un là pour nous aider en tant que conseillère. Bon cette année, on en a une, mais on l'a jamais vu. Si elle nous envoie un petit papier par-ci par-là c'est beau pendant une année. Bon, je ne blâme pas la conseillère pédagogique parce qu'elle doit s'occuper de plein d'autres choses que l'immersion, alors ça n'aide sûrement pas au programme d'immersion.

The loss of a former second language consultant had also affected Wilma, who had since "never felt that [she] was seconded and supported as much" as she had been in the past.

Wilma wondered if the decline in French Immersion enrolment was not in part due to the teacher-felt lack of support from central office administrators and consultants, in that it would contribute a lack of interest and a lack of stimulation on the part of the

classroom teacher. In this way, a positive attitude toward the program would not be transmitted to either parents or students.

Teachers like Ursula and Wilma were experiencing a growing feeling of isolation because they could not feel the support of central office and the full support of the school administration. This growing feeling of isolation was linked to questions about the fate of the program, such as "where is immersion going? and that it was something that was moving forward" (Ursula). The isolation factor appeared to have been magnified by the cessation of the provision of district-wide meetings for teachers of French Immersion; therefore, forcibly reducing contact(s) between teachers of various schools.

Other indicators of the decline of the French Immersion program, as described by Ursula, was "having to run after materials, information and the latest books out," etc., which made the teachers' work "more arduous." Besides "having to run after material," teachers, especially beginning ones, "had to trust that someone within the school had the [necessary] information." Ursula, who knew the program well and had what she needed, worried about those who were "deprived" of resources and of assistance.

Principal Clark reported that other areas of cutback were support staff, library services, human resource services and counselling. He also indicated that at Red Cedar School, the decrease in enrolment in the French Immersion program was primarily at the Division II level, as opposed to Year 1 to 3 levels. Despite the decline of the French Immersion program at Red Cedar School during the 2 years prior to this on-site study, Principal Clark had witnessed a growth in the third language program offered at his school.

The decrease in French Immersion enrolment coupled with an increase in registration numbers in another language program at Red Cedar School had clearly put the French Immersion personnel and student body in more of a minority situation; therefore, deepening their feeling of isolation. For some French Immersion teachers, the growing popularity of the other language program may have given rise to a perception of

favoritism toward this program on the part of the administrators. They substantiated their claim with a number of examples.

The issue of equality of rights amongst teachers of all three language programs at the school was central to Wilma. She felt strongly that there was favoritism towards one of the other language "groups," to the detriment of the French language program.

> Souvent, j'ai l'impression qu'à l'école, il y a des droits que certains groupes d'enseignants ont, et que d'autres n'ont pas. . . . Des fois, je trouve que c'est d'autres groupes qui sont choyés à la place des Français, aux dépens des francophones.

Although she recognized that other groups may also be in a minority situation, she felt that French Immersion teachers were totally ignored and not given the assistance needed. She exemplified her statement by referring to hired French Immersion personnel who lack French language competencies. She saw this situation as a lack of professionalism on the part of administrators.

These circumstances have caused a lot of frustration and anger for Wilma because, to her, they negated her efforts not only to teach a language, but also to transmit a love for French.

> Ça défait ce que moi, toute l'année, je travaille fort pour donner la langue aux enfants, pour leur offrir le plus possible, puis leur donner, à tous les niveaux. Puis là, à un autre niveau, plus élevé, bien, ils oublient parce qu'ils ne pratiquent pas. C'est vraiment fâchant, des fois, parce que moi, j'ai beaucoup d'amour pour la langue française, et puis, j'essaie de passer cet amour-là aux enfants, puis de le transmettre, et puis plus loin, au bout de la ligne, quelqu'un le détruit. Ça me frustre. Ça, je trouve que ça ne devrait pas exister.

Another example of perceived favoritism toward the other language program was given both by Teachers Ursula and Wilma.

Wilma claimed that the same allowances for the rental and/or purchase or props and equipment for cultural performances were not granted to the French Immersion program, as they were to the other language program. This perceived reality, which

Wilma considered "unjust," caused in her a loss of interest in the participation in such cultural events at Red Cedar School. She said that:

> Par exemple les concerts de Noël, ou bien les concerts durant l'année, nous, les francophones on a besoin d'argent pour acheter des costumes ou des choses comme ça. Nous, les francophones, on n'en a pas. Mais quand c'est le tour des autres groupes, bien eux-autres, ils en ont des costumes, ils ont tout, ils ont même des [réflecteurs] loués, ("des spots loués"), mais nous autres, on n'en a pas ça. Puis quand on en demande, c'est une guerre, puis ils n'ont jamais d'argent. Puis ça, ça me fâche beaucoup. Tellement que j'en perds le goût de participer à ces choses-là parce que je trouve ça injuste.

Ursula explained that perhaps the perceived administrators' attitude of favoritism toward the other language program may be due to the "Big Show" effect of the latter's cultural performances. Through these, the culture of the people involved in this program became "more visual" and "more apparent." The "colorfulness" of the "Big Show" "attracted people" and "enhanced the school's image;" therefore, increasing the popularity of this other language program.

Prior to arriving at Red Cedar School, Vivianne had witnessed prejudice among programs of another multi-track school, but spoke of none at Red Cedar School. However, she discussed the need to encourage relations between programs and for increased shared activities among all three programs in the way of "informal exchanges," "exchanges between classes," "track and field," and the like. She also expressed a desire for stronger and more frequent links between Division I and II students with the French Immersion programs, "so that students may see French outside the classroom." In addition, she wished for a greater involvement of parents in their children's classrooms, as they were partners in education. She talked about having to work on this aspect as "many teachers did not want parental involvement" in the classroom.

Vivianne's desire and effort to bring all parties of the school community together, irrespective of their language program, were perhaps motivated by her strong "bilingual vision of Canada." She disputed sociologues' and politicologues' claims that one must identify with one or the other language or culture. She saw herself as bilingual and

bicultural and "fought for both [English and French] and believed other Anglophones who understood French as doing the same thing." She stated that:

> Je crois en une vision bilingue, alors moi, à mon avis, . . . je rencontre des sociologues, des politicologues qui vont dire: "Bien, on ne peut pas être bilingue, on s'identifie comme francophone ou anglophone." Moi, je dis: "Non, on peut être bilingue." Je le suis: biculturelle, puis bilingue. . . Mais, à mon avis, on peut l'être, mais ce n'est pas en même temps . . . parce que je le vis. Puis quand je suis dans une réunion avec francophones, c'est complètement différent d'une réunion d'anglophones, puis je me bats pour les deux, puis je pense que les anglophones qui comprennent le français font la même chose.

Although Vivianne believed that most who understand French will fight for both English and French, Ursula questioned the love of the language of some of her colleagues, and felt that if it were truly there, one would see differences in the [French] immersion program. She added that teaching French Immersion in a minority situation was a vocational/calling that had little place for doubt. She affirmed that:

> J'ajouterais que c'est, je pense que c'est vraiment une vocation d'enseigner en immersion en contexte anglophone en minorité, situation minoritaire parce que ce n'est pas facile à beaucoup de points de vue. Il faut que tu y crois toi-même parce que des éléménts extérieurs te font peut-être croire que ce n'est pas si important, alors si toi, tu doutes déjà, il me semble que ça rend ton travail difficile, alors tant que j'y croirai, puis tant que j'aimerai ma langue. Pour moi, c'est facile, c'est ma langue je l'adore. J'aime l'enseigner, mais je ne sais pas si cet amour-là est là pour tout le monde. Puis, il faudrait qu'il soit là. On verrait des différences dans le programme.

As with Ursula, it becomes apparent that for Wilma, teaching French takes on a very personal meaning. Although she denounced the favoritism she perceived towards other language programs within the school, she went so far as to say that it is French which should be favoured in the school. "En tant que francophone, je trouve que ça devrait être ça [le français] qui soit le plus choyé à l'école".

Even though teaching French takes on personal meaning for Sylvain, he is quite accepting of other language programs in the school.

> Le fait que ce soit en français, c'est bien important pour moi personnellement, mais je suis bien en faveur en même temps d'autres programmes d'immersion . . . puis je trouve que c'est également une bonne idée pour eux-autres de faire ça.

A number of political issues at Red Cedar School seemed to be centered around the perception that the other bilingual program was being favored over French Immersion. There also appeared to be somewhat of a lack of cohesion between French Immersion teachers, rooted in their diverse interpretations of what teaching immersion was all about, i. e., was it strictly teaching French as a language or was it also teaching the French culture, and if so, what was meant by French culture?

Cross-Site Analysis

The distribution of resources was mostly problematic at Yellow Ash School and Red Cedar School. Teachers between the French Immersion and English streams competed for resources at Yellow Ash School, and French Immersion teachers at Red Cedar felt that the other bilingual program was being favored by the school principal.

The right to speak French and the freedom to express views were issues raised in all three schools. However, it was only at Yellow Ash School that they were a major source of conflict between various staff members. Past critical incidents under former school administrators were still hindering relations at this school.

Cultural Issues

There was a wide range of cultural and educational backgrounds among all 26 participants interviewed, which strongly affected how they related to French as a language and to French as a culture. French Immersion teachers' identification with various French sub-cultural groups also influenced how they interacted with each other, and others, both on a personal and professional level.

Yellow Ash School

Several teachers at Yellow Ash School spoke about what it meant for them to speak French and/or to be French. The also shared some of the difficulties and challenges they faced when learning a second language and getting acculturated into Alberta's society. Their cultural and educational backgrounds on the one hand, and their remembrances of their own acquisition of a second language and acculturation to this

province on the other hand, seemed to have strongly influenced their beliefs about their work as teachers (e. g., teaching styles, expectations of student behavior and achievement).

Elise described her relationship with French as her native language and how the expression of her deep-felt connections to it could adversely affect Anglo-Albertans' perceptions of her Francophone colleagues and herself.

Elise was intrinsically touched by her language: She "live[d] in it" and she had a great love and reverence for it ["adore it"]. In her eyes, it followed that someone who lacked respect for her language could not see "the other side of the coin," i.e. could not see French as more than words and as part of the essence of her being. However, Elise readily acknowledged that Francophones could be "imposing" and "had a tendency to speak louder," as especially was the case with the "Québecois." According to Elise, it was this personality trait that caused Francophones, especially "Québecois" to bother/disturb Anglo-Albertans. She had known many "Québecois" who had returned to their home province because of this very fact. She believed that one had to learn how to "calm/cool down," probably to facilitate one's acceptance by Anglophones. She explained herself by saying that:

> Moi je trouve que ma langue . . . c'est bien de valeur je veux dire, je vis dans ma langue, je l'adore puis je veux dire que quelqu'un qui n'est pas respectueux. . . . Elle, elle voit plus l'autre côté de la médaille disons que des fois, c'est vrai qu'on est imposant puis on a une personnalité comme ça les francophones, on a tendance à parler plus fort, on a tendance . . . surtout les Québécois, alors ça dérange. C'est bien . . . que parmi les Québécois sont passés que moi j'ai connus, il y a beaucoup qui y sont retournés parce que justement, on dérange les gens ici. Faut apprendre à se calmer.

Elise also discussed the difficulties she experienced in accepting prevailing values when she first came to this province. She considered them to be more conservative in Alberta, as compared to Québec. Generally, she felt that she had adapted to this fact.

She could come to terms with the notion of conflicting values as long as the precept of "live and let live" was mutually respected. She put it as follows:

> Disons que ça j'ai trouvé ça vraiment difficile à accepter, les valeurs plus conservatrices. Eh . . . je m'y suis fait, disons. Je suis assez flexible pour ça. Je suis une sorte de personne qui ne veut pas "badrer" personne. Je n'aime pas que personne vienne me déranger non plus, alors c'est des choses que . . . c'est ma vie personnelle, tu sais, mes valeurs à moi. Que tu sois conservateur . . . c'est de vos affaires, mais venez pas déranger ma façon de vivre, puis voir mon point de vue.

Elise conceded that heightened awareness of Anglo-Albertan's views of Francophones, and specifically of Québécois(es), coupled with increased understanding of the "conservative values," had perhaps transformed her in some ways. She admitted that although she maybe talked a lot, as was in her view, characteristic of her people, she was more careful when expressing herself, so as not to offend Anglo-Albertans.

> D'habitude . . . je parle peut-être beaucoup, mais je suis quand même eh . . . comment je pourrais dire? . . . Je peux comprendre plus ce point de vue-là maintenant. Je fais peut-être plus attention, je ne sais pas. J'ai peut-être changé, je ne sais pas!

Elise speculated that her teaching experience having been restricted to this province may have helped her to adapt more easily to the Alberta school system, as she had no frame of reference with which to draw comparisons and differences. She illustrated her point by referring to the case of a teacher who found himself incapable of teaching in Alberta because he judged the system of values in Albertan schools too drastically different to that which he had come to know and accept in the province of Québec. She hypothesized that perhaps she would also undergo a major shock if she were to teach in that province. She elucidated why she was able to adapt to teaching in Alberta by stating that:

> En tant que prof . . . Je ne sais pas. Je n'ai jamais enseigné au Québec, alors je vais avec l'expérience que je vis ici. Je ne peux pas vraiment comparer. Je sais que le prof qui était venu enseigné ici avait enseigné au Québec. Il n'était pas capable d'enseigner ici. Il trouvait justement que le système des valeurs était tellement différent qu'il n'en pouvait pas. Il ne pouvait vraiment pas s'adapter. Parce que moi, j'ai tout vécu mon expérience d'enseignement ici, alors, je ne sais pas . . . Peut-être que j'aurais un gros choc si j'allais enseigner au Québec . . . Je ne sais pas.

Another teacher, Denis, explained that immigrating from Québec to Alberta had been an enormous cultural shock to him. In fact, the shock was such that, in his opinion, it transformed his personality, and made him into a more reflective being. He described himself as having been a spontaneous person who often did things that were unpleasant to others around him. His experience in Alberta offered him an opportunity to analyze the reasons and consequences of his actions. Although he may still displease certain people, he now knew why he did so. In his view, this self-realization had caused him to "calm down" a bit. This is how he talked about how coming to Alberta to teach led to his inner transformation on a personal level:

> Oui, oui, un gros choc culturel aussi. Le choc a transformé ma personalité. Eh . . . vraiment oui. C'est que, je me suis mis à plus réfléchir sur mes actions. C'est que j'étais une personne spontanée qui faisait des choses souvent qui étaient déplaisantes à certaines autres personnes. Là, j'ai fait souvent encore ces choses-là. Ça déplaît, mais je sais pourquoi. Puis si je peux expliquer que si vraiment . . . tu sais, je peux beaucoup plus comme on pourrait dire, expliquer le fruit de mes actions . . . C'est ce que je fais. Non, c'est pour ça je me suis calmé un peu, une chance.

It appeared as though Denis' profound personal experience also spilled over into his professional life, as exemplified in his view of his teaching role. Although he described his role as multi-faceted as seen below, he did insist on the notion of the teacher as being someone who was ready to share differences and who encouraged youngsters to develop into well-balanced and responsible reflective beings who would be capable of living within society without causing problems/harm, i.e. into someone who would be able to think about his or her actions. He elaborated at length by saying that:

> TD: Bon, moi je vois mon rôle d'enseignant comme une personne qui est là, qui est prête à partager les différences, qui est prête à fournir le explications et aider les personnes dans le besoin. C'est-à-dire les jeunes, à apprendre a développer leurs côtés intellectuel, artistique, physique, tout ce que tu veux, tout dans la balance sociale, tout ça, les responsabilités, d'essayer d'aller les amener à se développer, à devenir des personnes qui vont être un jour capables, ne pas faire mettons des professeurs, mais d'être capables de vivre dans la société, sans causer des problèmes, mais tu sais . . . C'est comme on dit, une personne qui pense à ces agissements.
>
> I: [Un être réfléchi.]

TD: Exact, qui a dit ça?

Denis also portrayed his acculturation to Alberta as analogous to the experiences of Anglophone students in French Immersion programs. Both parties were in the process of exploring and opening up to the language and culture of the other. He affirmed that:

> C'est que, moi par rapport à moi, je me suis ouvert sur une autre, culture et puis eux de la même façon. C'est que qu'est-ce qu'il essaient de faire c'est qu'ils commencent à explorer une nouvelle culture puis s'ils veulent continuer plus tard, bien, ce sera leur choix.

Denis, though, also reflected back onto his acquisition of English as a second language and drew some comparisons between his students' learning and his own. He remembered only too well that when learning English at the Junior and Senior High levels, English "went above his head" because students could not practice this language. Although he conceded that French Immersion students learned French without too much effort, he wondered if French Immersion teachers should not make it their role to more strongly give students a model of practicing the language. He lamented how few the occasions were for students to practice French in a meaningful way. Because of this, he feared that students would not think French to be important. He voiced his concerns by saying that:

> Il y en a qui ne le regrette pas lorsqu' ils sont rendus plus vieux aussi que . . . "c'est l'fun que j'aie appris une deuxième langue comme ça, pendant que j'aie été à l'école, sans faire l'effort" après, comme moi, j'ai appris de l'anglais quand j'étais au secondaire, mais ça me passait par-dessus la tête parce qu'on pouvait pas le pratiquer, mais c'est ça que je me demande si, en tant que rôle ici, si on doit leur donner le modèle de pratique, leur donner tout ce qui en dans notre possible pour leur dire: "Allez chercher toutes ces petites choses-là de français," parce qu'il n'y en a tellement pas qu'ils risquent de pas penser que c'est important.

It became apparent that Denis' remembrances of his acquisition of English as a second language and his acculturation to Alberta had helped shape his beliefs about his role as a teacher of French Immersion.

Helena's own experience not only as a student of a second (or in her case of a third) language, but as a teacher of French had led her to a new kind of

awareness/understanding of the acquisition of a language other than one's mother tongue. She talked about how teaching French "had forced her to think in this language" over the course of a minimum of one year. Although she had held a strong grammatical knowledge in French, she described herself as having been a lost cause when it came to expressing herself verbally. She understood others clearly, but wondered about how she would say such and such in response to them. It was only after mentally translating what she wanted to say from English to French during her first year of teaching that "at a given time, everything changed, all of a sudden, I was always thinking in French." Because of this personal experience, to her, "that's how it happens." Comprehension comes first, and then verbal communication comes second.

She also recalled the difficulties she experienced with the language as a beginning teacher when she needed her dictionary in hand at all times, and when she would spend several hours every night during the first semester brushing up upon her language skills.

I: Plutôt de l'apprendre, tu as senti que tu devais penser en français. Tu m'as dit: "Ça m'a forcé à penser en français."

TH: Mais, oui ...

I: Puis, je voudrais que tu me parles un p'tit peu plus de ça.

TH: Ok. Ah, quand j'ai fait mes études en français, comme j'avais la grammaire, j'avais tout ça dans ma tête, mais m'exprimer, ç'était une autre chose. Ok, je comprenais très bien les gens, mais parler, j'étais un cas perdu. Mais, c'est juste quand j'ai commencé à enseigner le français, ou, à ce moment-là, je sais que pendant, bien, pendant un an au moins, je faisais de la traduction dans ma tête. Ok, j'pensais quelque chose en anglais; Après, je me suis dit: "Comment est-ce que je vais le dire en français?" Mais, à un moment donné, ça a changé. Tout d'un coup, je pensais en français tout le temps. Donc, c'est comme ça que ça arrive. Moi, je trouve que la compréhension, ça sera la chose qui vient en premier. . . . Mais, avec moi, c'était comme la grammaire, je savais comment écrire et tout ça. Ça, c'était quelque chose de très facile, mais àprès, c'était de le parler. A la fin, j'étais capable de parler.

I: Puis, cela, c'est venu, non seulement avec la pratique, mais avec le fait que t'as dû l'enseigner.

TH: Oui, exactement. . . . Donc, ma première année, je sais que j'avais toujours mon dictionnaire entre les deux mains. Oui, ma première

> année. C'etait vraiment difficile pour moi. Je passais comme, oh peut-être jusqu'à dix heures le soir jusqu'à Noël. . . (Could not hear well here).

I: Pour améliorer tes compétences langagières.

TH: Oui.

This concern for ameliorating and maintaining French language skills, that had taken both time and effort to acquire, to the point of being able to think in it and speak it with ease, was also present in Brenda, herself a "product" of French Immersion.

Brenda acknowledged that she made a fair number of mistakes when expressing herself in French and that it would be easy to improve upon it with her French Immersion colleagues, in and out of the school. However, she felt pressured both by time and the need to communicate with her Anglophone colleagues at the school. She explained her situation like this:

> Ok, bien c'est facile pour-moi de perfectionner mon français pour que ce soit . . . Je pense que c'est OK. Maintenant, mais je fais des fautes, beaucoup, mais c'est normal pour une anglophone, mais ce qui me dérange un peu c'est que j'ai pris . . . j'ai pris le français jusqu'à la neuvième année, je pense, puis en français, puis j'ai travaillé très fort pour ça et puis j'aimerais continuer avec ça. Je pense que j'ai une bonne base de français mais j'aimerais aussi parler . . . C'est difficile de prendre beaucoup de temps d'être avec les autres personnes comme les autres francophones. Mes amis qui enseignent l'immersion française sont des anglophones. Il y en a quelques-uns qui sont francophones, mais être ici à l'école, je pense que c'est bien de parler avec les autres profs qui sont des anglophones.

Having gone through the French Immersion experience and having struggled with the difficulties of learning a second language though had given Brenda an understanding of both the system and of students with problems. Having lived the immersion experience and having witnessed her friends do so had not only given her confidence in students' capacity to learn a second language, but also a hope/belief that they could take it further and use it in their adult lives, as she had. She expressed her views by stating that:

> Ça fait longtemps. Je comprends le système puis je comprends quand les élèves ont des problèmes je peux comprendre. Je peux aussi voir que les élèves peuvent vraiment apprendre le français jusqu'à la douzième année. Puis parce que moi j'ai fait ça, et puis mes autres amis ont fait ça aussi et puis j'ai beaucoup d'amis qui ont été à l'école avec moi qui sont maintenant

> des enseignants d'immersion. Alors, je vois que c'est possible pour les élèves de continuer dans le français, parce que moi, j'ai fait ça.

André's cultural and educational background, especially in terms of how he was taught French as a second language had also greatly influenced him in his teaching style and expectations of students' achievement and behavior. As his own teachers had done, André "had gotten used to teaching [French] as primarily a subject area" only, i.e., "grammar, composition, etc." He could not bring himself to lower his expectations/criteria in relation of those components of the language. Unlike Brenda, who considered the French Immersion experience as a potentially successful one, based on her own experience and that of her friends, André appeared to be disillusioned by the level of achievement in the French language by students who had spent up to 7 years in a French Immersion program. He expressed his concerns as follows:

> Disons que je me sens beaucoup beaucoup beaucoup plus à l'aise quand j'enseigne soit aux adultes ou aux enfants plus âgés, parce que surtout, je me suis habitué à enseigner la matière, c'est-à-dire la grammaire, la composition, des choses comme ça et mes exigences sont . . . d'après ce que j'ai observé ou j'ai realisé jusqu à maintenant et je m'attends à trop des enfants et peut-être . . . je n'arrive pas encore à baisser mes critères. Mais c'est parce qu'aussi, je m attends à ce que les enfants puissent faire du travail. Après sept ans d'immersion française, je pensais qu'ils seraient à un niveau beaucoup plus élevé que je le réalise.

André specified that, based upon his own observations, students of French Immersion could express themselves, but that their grammar remained inferior. He wondered if one should not expect much from them. He observed that:

> Alors, avec les enfants qui sont dans le programme d'immersion, ils peuvent s'exprimer mais je trouve la grammaire assez inférieure. Et je ne sais pas . . . on ne doit pas s'attendre trop d'eux.

Thus, it became clear that French Immersion teachers' cultural and educational experiences strongly influenced their expectations of their present school and classroom environments.

Blue Spruce School

French Immersion teachers at Blue Spruce School did not seem as preoccupied with issues stemming from one's educational background and culture as much as those from Yellow Ash School and Red Cedar School. One teacher did speak though about one's unconscious transmission of culture through classroom delivery, and another talked about the influence of the Québec culture, as opposed to her Franco-Albertan one in her teaching.

Yves spoke of the unconscious transmission of one's culture via the delivery of knowledge to students. In particular, he recognized in his present students" language expressions that were unique to the previous teachers at Blue Spruce School.

He talked about the transmission of language expressions as being largely dependent on each teacher's personal cultural background and teaching style.

In his case, he was certain that he transmitted some of the more "popular," "familiar" or "lower level" expressions at times, as he had learned them as a child. He asserted that:

> Je pense que ça doit varier certainemenent de professeur en professeur comment tu vehicules la culture, mais tu sais Nicole, des fois, je le fais souvent, puis je n'en suis pas conscient.

As for Noëlle, a Franco-Albertan, she maintained that the culture transmitted to her students would be that of Québec rather than Franco-Albertan. She explained why she considered her past "Franco-Albertan culture as a diluted culture originating from Québec," and thus, had no qualms about teaching "the pretty picture of being Francophone in Québec, France, etc." in the passage translated below:

> As for the teaching of culture, being franco-Albertan, perhaps it is the Québec culture which we teach in our classes, since one would have to dig far/deep to go and find things that I lived as a child. It is no longer reality. If I look at my nephews and nieces, it's already in the past. Also, cultural things I had as a young child, were leftovers from what my great grandparents had transmitted to my grandparents who were born in Québec, but who got married in Alberta. So we go back to many generations, therefore, the franco-Albertan culture is a diluted Québec culture. I have no problem taking the pretty side of being a Francophone

> in Québec, and if there is something in France, then, let's take it and let's say that this is France's reality, and this is Québec's reality. (Translation)

Once again, the relationship of some participants to French seemingly influenced their transmission of it as a language or as a culture, whether it was in a conscious or an unconscious manner. Although present, cultural issues did not appear to concern French Immersion teachers of Blue Spruce School as much as they did those of Red Cedar School.

Red Cedar School

The notion of culture emerged as a predominant category during discussions with teachers and the principal of Red Cedar School. Its complexity lay in that its definitions and meanings were as varied as each participant. These seemed to be contingent upon the participants' individual, as opposed to collective, relationship between their personal selves and the culture with which they identified the most, i.e., their culture of origin, be it French-speaking, English-speaking, or any other.

More specifically, a number of teachers not only appeared to define themselves by their cultural origins, but also by their sub-cultural origins. In other words, some teachers distinctly saw themselves as Franco-Albertan, Franco-Ontarian, Québécois(es), etc., rather than simply as French-Canadian, for example. The sub-culture with which they identified appeared to have clearly shaped their personal selves and influenced the ways in which they perceived themselves and others who belonged or did not belong to their sub-cultural group.

Furthermore, not only did their sub-cultural origins influence how they saw themselves as individuals, but they also helped shape their teaching selves with respect to philosophies, approaches/styles and strategies, and perhaps more importantly in the context of multi-track schools, their pedagogical choices and priorities. Seemingly, these pedagogical choices and priorities were not always compatible with those of their colleagues who may have belonged to French-speaking sub-cultural groups other than

their own or to English-speaking ones. An understanding of this reality could explain the potential for conflicts between immersion teachers of various French-speaking sub-cultural groups as well as between immersion and non-immersion teachers.

Wilma illustrated the link between sub-cultural origins and the delivery of teaching by comparing three hypothetical teachers originating from France, Québec and Alberta respectively. First, she explained that to her, the cultural roots of the Franco-Albertan were closer to those of the Québécois(e) as opposed to those of the French person from France. Then, she gave the example of all three teachers teaching music and songs to students. The French person from France would teach French songs acquired from his past experiences in France, the Franco-Albertan would teach older French-Canadian songs learned from his or her grandparents or from his or her heritage. The Québécois(e) would have the advantage of having witnessed the continuous creation of songs from birth to present and would more likely teach a combination of fresher compositions from Québec, and to a point from France, as well as older French-Canadian ones. Hence, Wilma believed that "the culture, the teaching that we give our children must have repercussions, a link with what we are."

The link between what participants were and the sub-cultural group with which they identified became quite evident in the case of Carole who clearly viewed herself as a Franco-Albertan, distinct from the Québécois(e).

Although she readily acknowledged the cultural facts shared by Franco-Albertans and Québecois(es), such as the French language and cultural folklore like celebrations, traditions and the like, she saw Franco-Albertans as a separate entity from Québecois(es), predominantly because of both cultural groups' perceived differing attitudes toward the maintenance and survival of their language and culture. Interestingly, while elaborating

upon this point, Carole stated that she would switch from the French to the English language. She said that:

> Bien, au point de vue de la culture, vous savez, les Québécois, les franco-Albertains, il y a des faits qu'on partage comme parler la langue, les célébrations, les traditions sont là, aussi un esprit familial. Je vais changer à l'anglais. We were a minority here and we developed to accept others as well as hold on to our own culture. We have a solid family base that allows us to comfortably continue our culture. I think that's great. Quebec teachers just arriving may feel threatened because they don't have the family support structure here. We are keeping our culture, other people are keeping theirs, I have relatives in Quebec, I have nothing personal against them, they have a more vocal point of view: "Our culture must survive." I don't think they are looking beyond and saying that it is surviving, for those that it's important, it is surviving. . . Their main concern is that they don't lose their language but they are willing to crush and to hurt people around them so that they can be the most prominent because "Québécois" is "IT" to them. Nothing personal . . . you know . . . We are just much more subdued about culture, perhaps it's within my generation. Just in terms of the culture, I was just thinking, my friends that are from Quebec, I have no trouble accepting them, who they are, it's fine for what they think, it's fine, it's great. So long as they don't start stepping on us, sometimes they do that, so you just kind of pull back.

The cultural and linguistic attitudes held by Franco-Albertans and Québécois(es) as collectivities, as perceived by Carole, were a deciding factor in defining who or what she was. She identified herself with Albertans, whom she viewed as "accepting," "tolerant," and "subdued," and separated herself from Québecois(es), whom she saw as "more vocal" and "willing to crush and to hurt people."

Cultural and linguistic attitudes were also a playing factor in Sylvain's identity crisis, especially when he realized that as a Franco-Albertan, the Francophone person he could relate to the most was a North American Indian, who had learned French from the Jesuit priests. He felt close to this person as he spoke not only with similar tones of voice, but with the same attitudes as Sylvain's grandparents. Sylvain could identify himself more completely with this person than with people from Québec, Africa or other Francophone populations.

> Mais je vais te dire une petite histoire, c'est vraiment étrange. Pour moi, la personne francophone, disons de mon âge, avec qui je me sentais le plus à l'aise, au point de vue culturel, c'était un indien du Nord de l'Alberta, qui avait appris son français des Jésuites. Puis, il parlait exactement avec, non

> seulement les même tons, mais les mêmes attitudes que mes grand-parents. Alors moi, je me sentais plus rapproché de lui, du point de vue attitude . . . du point de vue de culture, puis il était complètement indien. Il faisait sa vie dans le bois et puis tout . . . Là, je me suis senti tiré dans quatre directions tout en même temps. C'était si étrange de s'identifier avec une personne comme ça, plus complètement, disons, qu'avec des personnes du Québec, d'Afrique ou d'autres populations françaises que je me demandais pour un bout de temps d'o`u est-ce que ça peut bien venir et puis là j'ai commencé à lui demander un peu son "background," o`u est-ce qu'il avait appris le français etc, etc, . . . Je me ressentais, justement, pris avec presque une crise d'identité, d'essayer de figurer un peu. Je ne comprends pas complètement. Ça m'a vraiment surpris parce qu'il y avait des grandes différences, mais en même temps, il y avait des choses là-dedans. . . . Essayer de donner une définition, ça serait perdu, mais ça m'a vraiment surpris.

Not all participants willingly identified with a sub-culture rather than a culture. For instance, Rachel felt her culture to be franco-Canadian, not franco-Albertan. However, as a non-Québécoise, she sometimes felt excluded from extra-curricular matters. She welcomed the day when Western-Canadian and Eastern Canadian Francophones would reunite, as in her opinion, Francophones in Western Canada also feared losing their culture through the process of assimilation.

> En ce qui concerne les profs francophones, je trouve que des fois à cause que certains d'entre nous ne sont pas Québecois qu'on est des fois exclus des affaires hors de l'école. Ma culture est francophone-canadienne et non francophone-albertaine. Ça sera un beau jour lorsque les Français de l'Est et de l'Ouest se voient comme une langue, une culture. Nous aussi, dans l'Ouest, on a peur de perdre notre culture. Pourquoi pas se réunir?

The process of assimilation was deeply felt by Sylvain, even though he could not totally understand it. He referred to it as "a strange beast" as it was difficult to differentiate between the process of assimilation and the process of change. In his case, "after three generations of assimilation," some things remained the same. Paradoxically, he felt that there also existed differences between various French-speaking populations as they were between English-speaking ones. To explain his point, he contrasted the constant evolution of the French language in France to its quasi-non-evolution in Western Canada. He explained that since the French language spoken by his grandparents had not

evolved as it had in France over the years, they had regarded the French from France "as a bunch of assimilated people."

> Certainement que ça me fait quelque chose. Mes quatre grand-parents, deux sur chaque côté, sont venus directement de la France, en Saskatchewan. Et puis . . . pour moi le processus d'assimilation, c'est vraiment une bête étrange parce que, disons qu'après trois générations d'assimilation . . . et puis je me sens assimilé jusqu'à un certain point. . . . Il y a toujours des choses qui restent parce ce surtout, il y a des différences entre les populations françaises autant qu'entre les populations anglaises. Ma femme est anglaise, puis là, il y a certainement des liens entre les populations anglophones comme avec les populations francophones, mais je trouve qu'essayer de préciser les différences entre changement et assimilation . . . Il y a des personnes dans certains pays qui parlent d'un très bon français d'après moi, parce que c'est le français de mes grand-parents . . . La langue n'a pas changé comme ça a changé en France, alors eux-autres regarderaient la France comme une bande d'assimilés. Ça fait des situations étranges, mais en effet, ça arrive à des cultures. Alors, d'essayer de comprendre ça, c'est très difficile. Ça m'amuse beaucoup. Ça m'intéresse et puis je le ressens assez profondément, mais je ne comprends pas.

Similarly to Rachel, for Vivianne, the concern about assimilation was heightened by a feeling of exclusion from French-immersion teachers originating from Québec, when it came to socializing outside of the school setting. She attributed this reality in part to the fact that she was married to an Anglophone person.

Also, rather than viewing herself as a Franco-Ontarian per se, she believed herself as having a "different mentality" since she "was brought up [as a] bilingual" [person).

> Les profs d'immersion aussi . . . Il y en a plusieurs qui sont amis en dehors de l'école, puis ils se connaissent ou leurs maris se connaissent. Je ne sais pas là parce que je me questionne sur ça. Dans l'autre école c'était la même chose. Moi aussi, mon mari est anglophone. Je viens de l'Ontario, alors, les autres viennent du Québec. Mais je suis élevée bilingue, alors c'est un peu différent. Je pense que la mentalité est différente, oui. Ça, c'était difficile parce qu'on est dans un milieu, parce qu'on n'a pas d'amis francophones. Mes amis francophones sont les enseignants. En dehors de l'enseignement, je n'en connais pas. Quand je suis arrivée ici, les deux premieres années, je n'ai pas parlé un mot de français parce que je connaissais pas personne de français.

Outside of her workplace, Vivianne had found it very difficult to keep in touch with the Francophone world, especially when she first moved to Alberta: Except at school, she did not speak any French for two years after her arrival.

In an attempt to make contact with other French-speaking people, Vivianne got involved in at least two main Francophone associations. However, her interest in taking part in these organizations decreased after a few years, as she observed that "there were a lot of cliques, politics . . . and there were differing ideas." She found that, as a collectivity, French-speaking people living in Alberta, irrespective of their sub-cultural origins, tended to be self-destructive because of their in-fighting; therefore, hampering the Francophone cause in this province.

> On a dit ici qu'il ya beaucoup de cliques, de politique, là-dedans puis il y avait des idées différentes? Je trouve que les Français souvent [s'auto-]détruisent parce qu'ils commencent à se chicaner parmis les écoles francophones. Ils se chicanent entre eux-mêmes puis ça n'avance pas au lieu de laisser aller des petites chicanes. Puis, dans l'Alliance Française, il y avait un certain problème; ce n'était pas français, mais c'était plutôt anglophone que francophone. Ils parlent français puis tout mais ce n'était pas quelque chose que je connais très très bien parce que c'est tous des gens de d'autres pays qui parlent le français. Moi, j'étais impliquée pour quatre ou cinq ans avant qu'ils aient un bureau central. Maintenant, je ne sais pas. C'était plutôt internationnal, puis c'étaient des gens qui voyagaient beaucoup alors c'était, c'était très très intéressant. J'adorais ça, mais on peut juste se demander pour certaines choses, alors je vais peut-être retourner mais c'était des gens qui c'était dans un monde complètement différent du mien, mais, c'était intéressant.

However, the reality of French-speaking individuals in Alberta, no matter where their province or country of origin is, is that they live in a minority situation. Therefore, in/to varying degrees for each individual, the fear of assimilation is often present. Perhaps, this fear of assimilation was not a helping factor in the acculturation process of incoming French-immersion teachers to the province of Alberta.

In Principal Clark's opinion, "it's very difficult to transplant a first language teacher from Québec into Western Canada . . . to plunk them right in there and have them do the job." He believed that "these people coming up now . . . particularly those that are a product of bilingual education . . . are doing a very good job. He added that:

> In terms of the staff we're getting now, I think we're getting more and more Western-Canadian French in the program and I've seen that some of our student teachers that are coming out, excellent student teachers that are actually a product of our immersion program. So it's nice to see that we're now getting back those people that we put through the program. I think

> they will have far more empathy for students in a second language program because they've gone through it themselves.

Principal Clark's statement about Western-Canadian French Immersion teachers, who were a product of Alberta's French Immersion programs, as having "far more empathy for second language students" would probably be contested or at least questioned by participants such as Wilma. Having lived the English immersion experience upon moving to Alberta, she considered herself to be far more receptive to her students' needs than had she not been immersed, because she could readily put herself in their shoes. She could not forget instances like having to show bus transit drivers her addresses of designation because her knowledge of the language was then nil.

As Wilma talked about immersion teaching, she drew similarities and differences between her own personal immersion in English when she first came to Alberta, and her students' French Immersion experiences. She viewed physical environment as a major contributor in the acquisition of a second language; she saw it as absent for both students and teachers, as student learning is confined to the classroom. She gave the example of her having to buy veal cutlets at a meat counter without knowing the terminology in English.

> A un moment donné, à force que les anglophones me répétaient, ils me montraient, tu sais. J'étais dans l'environnement physique pour apprendre la langue, tandis que mes enfants [élèves] ne sont pas dans un environnement physique. Il n'y a pas les choses visuelles à leur portée, puis à la portée des professeurs.

Wilma's personal experience of English immersion has helped her understand the needs of her students, and has strongly influenced her teaching style. As evidenced by the several flashcards of words and pictures displayed on the walls and boards of her classroom, she tried to compensate for the lack of "real" physical environment by making student learning as concrete as possible.

> Parce que j'ai vécu moi aussi l'immersion comme telle. Puis, c'est ça qui m'a fait comprendre beaucoup de choses, puis avec les tous petits aussi, c'est souvent ce que je fais. C'est pour ça que les murs sont couverts de mots . . . puis d'images.

The associations Wilma had made between her own lived experiences and those of her students did not limit themselves to immersion, but to learning in general. She talked about her own experiences as a student, and how she had needed to understand what and why she was learning certain notions. She gave the example of failing a math course twice before a new teacher finally made her see the relationship between a math formula and what she would learn from knowing it in real life. She had come to put herself in the place of her students when trying to figure out why they had difficulties learning or getting motivated.

> Pour être capable de fonctionner, il faut que je comprenne ce que je fais. . . . Quand j'étais jeune, je disais toujours au prof.: "C'est pourquoi qu'on fait ça, c'est pourquoi donc? A quoi ça sert, explique-moi dans la vie comment on fait? . . . Il faut que je comprenne pourquoi je fais quelque chose, autrement je ne marche pas. C'est pour ça, mon enseignement pour moi . . . je me suis souvent assise et puis pensé et pensé comment, et puis j'ai essayé de m'asseoir à la place de l'enfant et puis essayé de voir comment eux-autres pensent, comment qu'ils vivent, comment qu'ils comprennent, comment qu'ils fonctionnent. Puis, je me rends compte que si moi je me mets à leur place, les réponses viennent beaucoup plus vite.

Upon analyzing the data collected at Red Cedar School, it became apparent that the cultural/sub-cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds of participants were of major consequence in shaping their beliefs as individuals, teachers and learners. In turn, these seemed to be determining factors in the extent to which French-immersion teachers identified with the larger teaching community/collectivity of a multi-track school.

Evidently, the notion of culture in multi-track schools should not be overlooked as it holds important staffing and pedagogical implications.

Cross-Site Analysis

Disagreement as to what constituted being French or teaching French was present at Yellow Ash School, but seemed to predominate at Red Cedar School. Because of this, French Immersion teachers appeared to be less of a cohesive group than at the two other schools. French Immersion teachers at Blue Spruce School did not appear to be so preoccupied with one another's educational and cultural backgrounds.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS: PEDAGOGICAL ISSUES

There were several commonalities between pedagogical issues raised at Yellow Ash School, Blue Spruce School, and Red Cedar School. Most stemmed from having to teach French in a English majority context. This affected the availability of physical and human resources, and teachers' interpretations and expectations of what teaching French, as a language or/and a culture, was all about.

Yellow Ash School

At Yellow Ash School, the question of French Immersion students' competencies in French language skills was felt to be largely dependent upon the amount of determination on the part of teachers to speak in French, and to demand the same of their students, on the one hand, and upon the student's degree of personal will to do so, on the other hand. It was believed that speaking French as much as possible would help in the maintenance and improvement of teachers' skills and in the provision of the best language model possible for students. It followed then that the level of mastery and the level of use of teachers' French language skills were of concern to a number of teachers who perceived that some of their colleagues did not speak French well enough nor made sufficient use of it. Hence, these teachers were seen as contributing to the lowering of French language standards within the classroom and the school.

Also of concern to French Immersion teachers was an apparent decrease in motivation on the part of students wanting to learn in French, which teachers attempted to explain with a combination of factors both external and internal to the school environment.

External factors were French Immersion students' growing awareness of their cultural identities as Anglo-Albertans, their need to identify with peers from their own social environment, their uncertainty as to the reasons for their placement in French Immersion programming, their inability to fully realize its long-term benefits, their

rebelling against the perceived greater requirements and demands of this program, as compared to English programming, and their inability to convey their thoughts and feelings at their growing cognitive level, especially if these were inspired by real experiences lived in English, with a limited concrete vocabulary.

Internal factors were the loose interpretation of percentage of classroom instruction time to be spent in French, the administrative preoccupation with timetabling and teacher expertise instead of language competencies, the inadequacy of instructional materials in core subject areas, such as Social Studies and Science, for teachers and students alike, and the requirements of provincial and district achievement tests, i. e., higher levels of thinking under time constraints.

Differences between French Immersion and English programming pedagogy became apparent at Yellow Ash School. They revolved around the issue of physical and human resource inadequacy for French Immersion teachers: the need to create their own materials, a time-consuming activity, requiring additional time and preparation outside school hours, and contributing to pressure and fatigue. They were also concerned with the fact that students' language [and cultural] knowledge could not be taking for granted at anytime. Because of this, they had to listen to their students attentively at all times, to look for language content and form together. They had to get to know their students better to try to grasp the meaning of what they said in French, and had to be willing to incorporate spontaneous lessons pertaining to the use of conventions, even during the teaching of subject areas other than Language Arts. Some teachers spoke about the additional time requirements in having to deal with French Immersion parents, who, although were said to be very supportive of the program, needed constant reassurance that they had made the right choice in placing their child[ren] in it, and were learning to their maximum potential. If not, the question of student transfers from English to French programming became an issue.

A number of participants at Yellow Ash School strongly believed in language modeling. They explained why they upheld this view.

The concern with the improvement and maintenance of French language skills was a motivating factor for Brenda to speak more French than English to her students, although most had little or no experience in the second language. She said that:

> Puis aussi, quand j'enseigne, ça c'est une autre chose. Je parle anglais et français, mais j'essaie de parler plus le français, parce que sinon, moi, je vais perdre mon français aussi. Et puis hum . . . j'essaie vraiment de parler français avec les autres profs parce que oui, je peux perdre mon français. Puis ça, ça me dérange parce que je suis anglophone, puis j'ai travaillé depuis la maternelle avec mon français aussi. Alors j'essaie vraiment de parler français aux elèves, mais c'est difficile pour eux des fois.

For Elise, speaking French was a matter of providing the best language model to children as possible. To her, "Ce qui est du français, évidemment, je trouve que ça serait aussi la raison pourquoi on est là, c'est pour être un modèle. Je trouve que c'est vraiment important qu'on soit le meilleur modèle [de la langue]."

Elise talked about how she had acquired the reputation in the school of being very demanding in regard to language standards. In her view, if children are to learn a second language, it should have to be well. The fact that French was her mother tongue, and her apparent pride in it, only served to reinforce her belief. This belief was further reinforced when she was told that since her arrival at the school, students' level of French-speaking skills had visibly increased. She attributed this change to having French as her mother tongue and greater expectations of students' speaking skills. Although she found it normal in a way, she had observed teachers who had learned French as a second language as being less demanding of their students when it came to verbal skills. She referred to past teachers who had wrongly taught students how to use certain expressions, and commented on the fact that some teachers spend **much** time in English in the classroom because they feel more comfortable in that language. She relayed the following:

> J'ai la réputation dans l'école d'être très exigeante. Je pense que c'est parce que justement, je trouve que le fait que les enfants apprennent la langue seconde, je veux qu'ils l'apprennent bien. Puis, c'est ma langue

> maternelle et je veux quand même qu'ils l'apprennent de la bonne façon. Je trouve que les profs qui ont appris le français en langue seconde, évidemment c'est normal, ce n'est pas leur langue, ils sont moins exigeants sur ce côté-là, point de vue oral. Je me suis fait dire déjà que depuis que je suis à l'école, le niveau de français a augmenté parce que je suis une des seules dans l'école pour qui le français est la langue maternelle. Les profs qui étaient là avant, c'était leur langue seconde, ils ont appris des mauvaises . . . Les enfants ont appris des mauvaises façons de dire certaines choses. Je sais qu'il y a certains profs qui passent beaucoup, beaucoup de temps en anglais parce qu'ils se sentent plus à l'aise en anglais.

Elise recalled how she first viewed some French immersion teachers' skills as unacceptable. She referred to the lack of French Immersion teachers versus the high demand for French Immersion programs. She also explained how she came to the realization that these teachers accepted their jobs good-heartedly and tried hard to meet the demands of their work. "With time," she came to "accept" what she perceived as a "scandalous" situation because she felt that "that was better than nothing." This is how she put it:

> Au début, je trouvais que ça n'avait pas d'allure. Je trouvais que le niveau de . . . mais maintenant je réalise beaucoup plus que ce n'est pas nécessairement eux qui ne font pas l'effort, mais c'est que il y a aussi un problème en ce moment dans le système que . . . Il n'y a pas assez de profs pour la demande, alors il y a beaucoup de monde qui sont engagés. Puis, c'est de bon coeur qu'ils le font; Ils essaient fort. Des choses que j'ai acceptées avec le temps. Au début, je trouvais ça un peu scandaleux, mais disons que je l'ai accepté avec le temps. C'est mieux ça que rien du tout, tu sais.

Although she partook in some administrative functions, Francine was also powerless when dealing with the placement of French Immersion teachers and the amount of French spoken in the classroom. She affirmed that teachers with less than competent French language skills were often placed in higher grade levels because of the requirement for a greater percentage of instruction in English. She commented that these teachers tended to speak more English than French and that given that students will have

learned a concept/theme in English, they will also speak of it in the same language. She said that:

> Alors, à ce moment-là, parce qu'ils l'ont appris en anglais, ils vont en parler en anglais. Et puis aussi, dépendant du prof., souvent on va mettre les profs qui parlent moins bien le français à des niveaux plus élevés parce qu'ils ont besoin de plus d'anglais à ce moment-là et puis ça fait que les profs vont parler plus l'anglais qu'en français, des choses comme ça. Tu sais, ça rentre tout dans le jeu.

Denis believed that the question of competencies of students' language skills was largely dependent upon a determined effort on the part of the teacher to demand of students to speak French only, except during English instruction, and/or the personal will of students to do just that. Despite most students' personal desire/will to speak in French, he was clear in stating the need to impose strict rules about the use of language in the classroom environment. He gave an example of what he told his students: "Listen, you have the chance to speak in the language of your choice outside of the school during recess, but here you speak in the language that you are learning, which is French. He expressed his line of thinking by stating that:

> Les enfants sont à l'école pour la plus grande partie de leur vie. Si l'on fait l'effort . . . Comme moi, dans ma classe, je fais l'effort. Il n'y a pas un mot anglais. Il y a des mots anglais qui se disent, mais, tu sais, je n'ai pas vraiment de problèmes à l'oreille à entendre beaucoup, beaucoup, beaucoup d'anglais. C'est une volonté personnelle de chaque élève, mais il y a des lois très strictes qui régissent. Écoutez, vous avez la chance quand vous sortez de l'école à la récréation . . . vous parlez la langue que vous voulez, mais ici, vous parlez LA langue que vous apprenez, la langue française. Puis c'est ça, à un certain point, il faut devenir aussi strict pour que du progrès se fasse et bien je crois qu'on devrait le faire. Pour d'autres, c'est simplement une question de volonté.

George agreed that students do and should speak in French in the classroom, and supported the practice of French Immersion students speaking in the language of their choice, namely English, once on the playground. His views were based upon the fact that students were involved in a French Immersion program, not a French Immersion centre. His thinking was motivated by his concern for "blending" French Immersion with non-immersion students and for "the students in the whole school [to] get along." At a former

school, he had witnessed negative repercussions in terms of immersion and non-immersion student relations when forcing immersion students to speak in French only on assigned areas of the playground. He affirmed that:

> In class they do [speak in French] but it's amazing, as soon as that recess bell rings they're gone. Because it's a French Immersion program and not a French Immersion school, they just automatically speak English outside because I think it just makes them blend in so much easier with the other kids. In this school, it's amazing, there doesn't seem to by any kind of arguing on the playground whereas I've taught in another school where the French students have one corner of the playground and the English students have another and they weren't allowed to go on each side of the playground and the French students had to speak French outside so that if they wanted to mix with the English students they really couldn't, and then it was like there was always a war right on that border. This way, when they go outside even though they're speaking English, which would be nice if they were speaking French outside as well, but at least that way the students in the whole school get along.

Elise was also very firm about setting clear modeling and expectations of the language of use in her classroom. She went a step further than Denis by giving students instructions during English Language Arts in French, and having them answer her in French. Otherwise, their written work and reading assignments were done in English. She mentioned that both parents and students were open to this practice, which she explained to them by telling them that the time students spent in the classroom was their only time to "live in French," and that she wanted to provide them with it to the fullest extent possible. She asserted that:

> Tandis que moi, je passe la journée en français. Même quand je fais l'anglais, je leur donne des instructions en français. Les enfants me répondent en français. Ils font leur travail en anglais. On lit en anglais puis on écrit en anglais, mais tout le reste, ça se passe en français. Je leur ai déjà expliqué aux enfants puis les enfants sont--même les parents sont vraiment ouverts à ça. C'est leur seul temps à l'école, dans la classe, pour parler en français, pour vivre en français. Je veux leur en donner le maximum. Donc, je suis plus exigeante que d'autres.

According to Francine, the question/issue of the amount of French spoken in the classroom by teachers and students alike lay clearly in the hands of the principal. At the same time, she added that since physical and human resources were scarce and that at higher grade levels, teachers of French Immersion were not expected to give more than

50 percent of their instruction in French at this school, they would simply do just that: no more and sometimes less. She gave the example of having a teacher of the English stream teach Science to her French Immersion students while she taught Enrichment to English program students. Although no one else wanted to teach Enrichment and she herself loved to do so, she seemed to have mixed feelings about having Science taught to her students in English instead of French. She elaborated in the following manner:

> Ça devrait être la place du directeur. Et mais vu qu'on n'a pas de ressources et vu qu'on s'attend à ce que ce soit 50-50, les profs vont faire 50-50. Comme l'année passée, dans ma propre classe, je n'avais aucun contrôle d'une façon parce que je devais faire de l'enrichissement. Alors, je ne vois pas pourquoi je devrais m'interdire quelque chose parce que quelqu'un d'autre ne veut pas faire le travail. Alors, à ce moment-là, pour pouvoir me permettre le temps libre pour enseigner l'enrichissement, c'est [x] . . . qui rentrait faire la science.

Some teachers were quite concerned about an apparent decrease in motivation toward learning French on the part of their students. They offered several reasons for this.

André observed a decrease in motivation on the part of French Immersion students once they reached the Year 5 and 6 levels. In his view, in their earlier years in the program, students, because of their young age were not yet aware of their social situation/status, i.e., whether they were Anglophone or Francophone; thus, they demonstrated a greater eagerness/interest in speaking and in doing everything in French. As they reached Year 4, they began to realize that they were Anglophones and generally felt more at ease in English than in French. In his opinion, this increased awareness of their Anglo-Albertan cultural identity coupled with the fact that they were unsure of why they were placed in the program, could not yet realize its benefits, and in many cases did not like it, caused them to rebel against the requirements and demands of the French Immersion program. André also acknowledged that they were students at these levels who were academically strong and who liked to speak French, and that once students reached junior-high school, they were indeed interested in learning and showed better

academic and behavioral skills than students taking French as a second language, for example. He explained his point of view by saying that:

> C'est fort probable que c'est une réalisation ou bien une conscience sociale qui leur vient en sachant qu'ils sont plutôt anglophones. Alors que quand ils sont beaucoup plus jeunes, ils ne sont pas conscients de qui ils sont et ils s'en foutent s'ils parlent français ou non eh . . . mais en grandissant, ils se disent: "Bien, écoute, je me sens beaucoup plus à l'aise en anglais qu'en français." Et en ne sachant pas vraiment pourquoi on les a mis dans un programme d'immersion parce qu'ils ne peuvent pas du tout penser aux bénéfices plus tard dans la vie. Tout ce qu'ils savent maintenant c'est qu'on les a mis dans un programme, pour la plupart, qu'ils n'aiment pas. Bien qu' ils y ait des enfants qui sont forts ou qui aiment parler en français mais la plupart du temps à ce niveau, ils commencent à vraiment . . . c'est comme si c'est eh . . . ils se rebèllent quoi disons. Alors, c'est ce que j'ai réalisé. Que ce soit vrai ou non, mais d'après mes observations, je pense que c'est vrai, mais j'ai réalisé quand même qu'au secondaire, les enfants qui sont dans le programme d'immersion étaient beaucoup plus intéressés à apprendre . . . Ah, j'avais aublié que j'avais aussi enseigné français-langue seconde, FSL, alors et les problèmes . . . Les enfants qui donnaient le plus de problèmes, c'étaient les enfants de langue seconde. Alors, j'avais des élèves fantastiques en immersion, très très forts, qui écrivaient et qui parlaient très très bien et j' étais très impressionné.

Francine also observed a decreased motivation toward French learning on the part of Division II (Year 4, 5 and 6 levels) French Immersion students, which she attributed to a number of factors, both external and internal to the school system.

External factors affecting students' desire to speak French were related to their living environment and their socio-emotional stage of development as young teenagers. Francine explained that as students grew to be increasingly independent, they wished to express themselves more verbally. In the process of doing so, they realized that they did not possess the required vocabulary to adequately convey their thoughts and feelings in French, as they had not vicariously or directly experienced them in a French social context. For example, they would have difficulty in talking about a program seen on television or current events heard on the radio, as they experienced them in English only. It's at this time that students tended to insert/incorporate/include English words in their conversations. In addition, being in adolescence they felt a need to identify with the peers of their own social environment, which would be English, not French. Therefore,

speaking French would no longer "be cool." She elaborated on these external factors as such:

> Il y a beaucoup de choses. Premièrement, il y a des raisons à l'extérieur de l'école. Les enfants veulent beaucoup plus parler, sont beaucoup plus indépendants. Ils arrivent pour parler, puis ils n'ont pas le vocabulaire nécessaire parce que ce sont des mots qu'ils ne retrouvent pas tous les jours, que ce soit [dans le cas d'] une émission à la télé ou n'importe quoi d'autre. Tu fais des actualités, ils ne sont pas capables de trouver les mots parce qu'ils ne les ont jamais entendu. Puis, ce n'est pas long qu'ils commencent à rajouter des mots en anglais. C'est le fait que: "It's not cool" rendu . . . tu sais, ils sont rendus adolescents, puis ils n'aiment pas ça.

Internal factors within the school system which contributed to a decreased motivation to speak French on the part of older elementary students were, according to Francine, associated with the percentage of instruction required in both languages at the Year 6 level and the lack of material for teachers and students alike, and the administration of student achievement tests. Given that the department of Education only required 50% of instruction in French, many students were exposed to fewer minutes of French instruction than that desired by central office second language consultants and some French Immersion teachers.

For example, because there were exchanges of subject areas taught between teachers, which were contingent upon timetabling and expertise in given subject areas rather than in language competencies, Francine's French Immersion class was taught a core subject in English, not French. This meant that her students spent an additional hour and a half or two per week receiving English instruction instead of French, "as it should be, if possible." In her opinion, "It doesn't take long before little things like that come to influence" [students' motivation and ability to learn in the French language].

Moreover, according to Francine, the scarcity of adequate French material for core subjects such as Social Studies and Science were very problematic. She gave the example of students working on projects about Greece and China, as outlined in the Grade 6 Social Studies curriculum, and not having enough French resources about these

topics. Because of this, students had to locate English resources and translate needed information into French. To her, this activity, although necessary, was a waste of time and contributed to the boredom and lack of motivation in the youngsters. What was the point in translating information already understood in English, and then present it to peers and/or teachers who would also understand it in English?

> Souvent, c'est aussi le fait qu'on commence à n'en parler moins dans la salle de classe parce que rendu en sixième année, selon le Ministère, c'est supposé d'être rendu 50-50. C'est ça que le Ministère ou les gens du centre-ville nous disent. Si tu parles aux conseillers, ils vont te dire: "Pas vrai, c'est supposé d'être 70-30" mais ils vont toujours te dire: "Non, rendu à la sixième année, ça devrait être 50-50." C'est aussi le fait que souvent quand tu viens pour faire des projets, puis je l'ai fait moi-même l'an passé, on a essayé de faire la Grèce ou la Chine, mais il nous manque de matériel. Alors, à ce moment là, toi tu dois envoyer le matériel en anglais, faire traduire les enfants, puis ça c'est plate aussi. Tu perds du temps à faire traduire. Puis l'enfant perd la motivation parce que ça ne sert à rien.

In order not to weigh her students down with translation because of lack of French resources for research projects while still upholding French as the main language of instruction, she "insisted" that a half of their work be presented in written form in English and the other half be in French. For instance, if they chose to write the introductory paragraph in English, then the conclusion would have to be in French.

For Francine, this ever present "lack" was "in a way, sometimes . . . you become frustrated, you become uh . . . not totally incompetent but discouraged, and you stop trying because it's like banging your head against [a wall]." (Translation)

Another factor that contributed to a lack of motivation on the part of French Immersion students and perhaps also on the part of their teachers to a certain extent was the administration of achievement tests. Given that most resources were in English and that students were given the choice to answer questions posed in their achievement tests in either language, Francine explained the temptation of French Immersion teachers to

teach a concept in English to ensure full comprehension or to encourage them to answer in English:

> C'est ça là et puis tu sais mauditement bien que les tests arrivent à la fin de l'année et il faut que les enfants fassent bien dans les tests. Alors, à un moment donné, que ce soit en anglais, que ce soit en français, tu vas le faire en anglais pourvu que les enfants l'aient, tu sais.

She admittedly reported that she always told her students to:

> Do the part that is the easiest for you. I prefer that you get correct answers, that it be well said, that it be well thought out to you spending your time trying to find the correct sentence structure or expression. (Translation)

Based upon Francine's observations, the nature of the questions asked demanded of students higher levels of thinking, and in addition, it did so under definite time constraints. To ensure that students had the time to reflect, internalize concepts and demonstrate their comprehension through proper communication, Francine declared: "then, my God, it's the language which will influence, write it in English." She pointed out that the students fell prey to the French vocabulary. In other words, students may not properly demonstrate their knowledge of concepts in Science and in Social Studies because they may lack the vocabulary needed to express higher forms or levels of thinking. Although Francine wanted to promote French instruction in her classroom, she found herself face to face with the lack of adequate resources to teach core subject areas and the pressure of preparing her students for the exigencies of achievement tests, which could be answered in either language. Her motivating factor when trying to deal with this problematic situation was that she "did not want her students to be punished because of [these factors]."

> A chaque fois, c'est le vocabulaire qui attrape les enfants. Ce n'est pas qu'ils ne connaissent pas l'addition, tout faire le reste là, les fractions, c'est le vocabulaire qui va les attraper. Alors je dis: "A ce moment-là, lisez le problème puis faites-le en français par après." Mais je ne veux pas que les enfants soient punis à cause de ça, mais ça cause des problèmes.

The question of "not punishing the student " was illustrated by Francine's following example. Although the school had had adequate physical and human resources

to teach Mathematics to their Grade 3 students in French and had done so with them from Grades 1 to 3, they were at a loss when they were faced with completing a Mathematics achievement test in French only, although English tests has been ordered. At this point, teachers realized that they "should have been doing English vocabulary while teaching Mathematics." Again, students could not get past the question of vocabulary in order to properly deal with the concepts; causing "great panic" to set in. Following this incident, after deliberation among teachers, it was "decided that students would be given the French equivalent of an English term as it was not their fault" that they were not always aware of them. Francine elaborated on the issue of language of testing in the following way:

> Et puis pour la troixieme année, c'était l'opposé parce que nos profs jusqu'à date, ont été très très français, tout fait en français. Les fameux tests arrivent, c'est en anglais. Ça, ça a causé des problèmes à un moment donné. Les maths aussi, les maths puis même avec moi, ça m'a causé des problèmes parce qu'au moins en maths, on a toujours eu des ressources. Alors, ça a toujours été fait en français, puis les mots sont pas mal différents comme: "dizaines-dozen, or tens "des choses comme ça. Là, tout-à-coup les enfants arrivent puis: "Ah, c'est quoi ce mot-là, qu'est-ce que ça veut dire?" On s'est rendu compte à la fin de l'année qu'on aurait dû faire du vocabulaire anglais en même temps que les maths parce que là, tout-à-coup, il y a certains concepts . . . Les enfants: "Je n'ai aucune idée ce que c'est, Madame." C'est vrai, parce qu'on n'avait pas enseigné le mot en anglais. Alors eh . . . puis l'année passée, c'est vraiment la première fois qu'on s'est rendu compte de ça parce que nos tests de mathématiques sont arrivés en anglais. Même si on les avait commandé en français, ils sont arrivés en anglais, puis là tout-à-coup, les enfants--Ah, la grande panique. Alors, ce qu'on a fait, on a discuté du problème puis finalement on a décidé que pour chaque mot que les enfants ne connaissaient pas, on leur donnait l'équivalent en français parce que ce n'était pas de la faute des enfants.

When participants discussed reasons why French Immersion students became less motivated about learning in French as they progressed through their elementary years, they also implicitly revealed some of the differences that existed between the teaching of French Immersion in contrast to English. Nevertheless, at Yellow Ash School, it was George who explicitly identified and explained some of these differences.

To George, the lack of resources to teach was one of many factors that made teaching French Immersion distinct from teaching regular English programs. Addressing the problem of inadequate resources required George to create his own materials, a time consuming exercise in translation demanding extra preparation time outside class or school hours and a contributing factor to added pressure and fatigue. Based upon his prior experience at teaching in the English program, "it just seemed that teaching in the English program, it was so much more relaxed because everything was in place." He compared French Immersion to English program teaching by saying that:

> I think it's really well set up now and the program seems to be going along really well now that it's been in place for [x] years, but it feels like it's going so much smoother now than it was in earlier years. The only thing is still we just don't always have enough resources. If you want a little exercise or a little quiz, if you were in English you could just pull it out of a book any place and you've got it whereas in French, you have to make it up and it's not that it's so difficult to make it up, it's just so time-consuming, you just end up spending so many more hours translating and preparing than you do in English. Like when I taught in the English program, it seems like if I was there at 7:30, I could leave at 5:00 every day, I never had to work weekends and it's like you finally have to say that's it, I can only do so much and I'm getting tired and you have to limit your hours. During the day, it seems like you're just rushed all the time because of it.

The question of compensating for a lack of resources also seemed to be problematic for Helena, who saw it as "being a lot of work." She found herself making her own materials, be they posters, activity sheets and/or adapting Francophone materials to suit the needs of her students. Since the purchase of a home-computer, she had come to work a lot, not only at school, but at home as well. She explained below:

> C'est mieux de commencer à zéro pour faire des affiches . . . Comme cette année, moi, en français, j'utilise un programme qui est pour les francophones. Ok, mais c'est à cause du fait que j'ai une classe jumelée. Je ne peux pas donner aux enfants le même programme qu'ils ont eu l'année passé, et je ne peux pas donner deux programmes de français. Ok, donc, j'ai pris un programme qui est pour les francophones. C'est très difficile pour la première année. Pour la deuxième année, ça va. Ok, mais, je trouve que le cahier d'activités, c'est trop difficile pour les enfants. Donc, il faut que je fasse mes propres feuilles. . . Alors, tu passes beaucoup de temps à fabriquer tout ça, puis . . . Comme l'année passée, je me suis acheté un ordinateur. Donc, je travaille beaucoup à la maison

> aussi maintenant, pas juste à l'école. (Can't hear well). C'est beaucoup de travail.

George also identified other differences between teaching French Immersion and regular English program, which could have profound pedagogical implications.

One crucial difference was that a French Immersion teacher could not take students' language skills for granted. One could not assume that all students understood French and spoke it properly. This fact alone required increased awareness of the students' language skills, especially their speaking skills, on the part of the teacher, who needed to listen carefully to what students said all of the time. Because of the nature of the program, according to George, "there is so much more conversation going on all the time between students and teacher; hence, encouraging the latter to "get to know the students so much better." He articulated this difference by stating that:

> Well one thing is that in immersion, you're much more aware of the students language skills, their spoken skills. In English, unless you're in ESL, you're just assuming that they all speak English properly and you're not listening so carefully all the time and in French Immersion, I find you get to know the students so much better because there is so much more conversation going on all the time. As much as possible, you're talking to them and they're talking to you.

Another difference identified by George was in his "overall approach" to teaching. He described it as the incorporation of constant little grammatical lessons in the teaching of other subject areas such as Social Studies. This "overall approach" required "really listening to the students when they are speaking" and the necessity to interrupt the planned course of a lesson, based upon the language needs of the students and the language goals of the teacher. He illustrated his point by affirming that:

> It's just a lot of more small lessons that you have, like for grammar like you're constantly giving students instead of just sort of an overall approach. You have an overall approach but then you have to be giving these constant little lessons all the time and if you're really listening to the students when they are speaking, quite often in the middle of Social Studies class you'll stop and give a quick grammar lesson.

Yet another difference between teaching in French Immersion as compared to teaching in regular English programs was in the time spent dealing with parents.

Although George found them to generally be quite supportive of the program, he saw them as needing a lot of reassurance as to what their children are learning, how well they are learning it and how they can help them reach their full potential. He shared his thoughts on dealing with parents in the following manner:

> I find that the parents in French Immersion are usually really supportive, but you have to spend a lot more time dealing with them than you do in the English program because I think they're just not really comfortable with it, they don't know exactly what their children are learning all the time and you know they want to help them at home, they sometimes feel that they can't or and I find that, especially at the end of Grade Three, all of a sudden they're getting anxious thinking oh my god what if my child isn't doing that good, I want him to be doing the best possible, maybe I should be putting him in English class so that I can help them at home.

He found the parents of what he referred to as "top students" particularly challenging in terms of convincing them that their children were reaching their maximum potential. He stated that:

> This year I have some students that are absolutely top students and the parents are wondering should maybe we put them in English next year because would they do better and the thing is I can't see how they could possibly be doing any better, they are absolutely top students and I've told them that if they were in English they would be bored. They would have to be having constant extra challenges, whereas in French it's there already and it seems that the parents that are the most worried have the children that are doing the best.

In essence, from George's observations, it appeared as though parents of French immersion needed the assurance that they had indeed made the "right" choice for their children by putting him or her in a French Immersion program, and that a transfer into the regular English program was not required or justified. He relayed that:

> Sometimes a parent will suggest oh I would like to transfer my child to English, but it's sort of like it could be with no real reason except the parent is getting anxious and the student is doing fine, it's the parent that's getting nervous. When that happens, you will usually try to convince them to keep their child in French and get them to talk to their child and usually the child wants to stay in French, it's usually the parent that is nervous. Once in a while, like this year I had a student that the parents pulled out of French half way through the year and the student was very bright but just decided not to do any work anymore and the parents thought that that was fine. It's just like there's no discipline in the home sort of thing.

Adverse effects of transferring students who no longer wanted to put in the necessary effort or work in French Immersion were that they communicated to their peers who were still in immersion that English was easy and necessitated no work. Upon receiving this message, some students attempted to convince their parents to let them transfer into the English program. George elaborated on these negative repercussions of transfers which were not based upon academic grounds in the following ways:

> They just decided that they heard that English was easy, really easy, so that's why they went toward English. So they went into English and they told all the French kids that English is so easy, you don't have to do anything, all you do is play and have fun and then of course that gets back to the other kids and they'll tell their parents, I really want to go into English. But then what do you ask the students, is this why because have you heard it was that easy from other students and they'll say yeah. They'll always tell you the truth about it.

Clearly, they are times when alternatives such as student transfers from immersion to regular programming would benefit a child who was under undue pressure or experiencing a language problem for example. As George explained,

> Once in a while there will be a student that you think that would be doing much better in English because they just have a language problem and they wouldn't be under so much pressure if they were in the English program and maybe once in a while there is a student like that, you just feel that they could be doing much better in the English program and they'd be much happier. So when that happens, you usually have a choice of several things for the parents like you could put them into a different level in English or they could stay in French and maybe explain which class they would be in and what program they'd be covering next year because maybe they were having problems somewhere. Actually that works out quite well because I have a few students that, like in my inter-languages, like all their skills are right on where they should be, but then in languages I've got two students where their reading ability is incredibly high, like it's two or three years ahead of where they should be, but then their written skills are a year or two behind so it works out okay because with switching back and forth with another teacher, they end up getting the help that they need at the lower grade, yet they can go in with students in a higher grade to be doing other work.

The question of student transfers from one program to another was also very problematic for Elise, especially given the comments of receiving teachers about how French Immersion teachers "dumped all their students in their classes." Over the years, she seemed to have found a balance to this issue, without having to compromise what she

viewed as her teaching role. She described how, in her earlier years, she would "bang her head against the wall," while feeling "incapable of providing help to a child" with learning difficulties and "not knowing what to do with him or her." Now, she considered herself a "resource person" for children so that they may learn to the best of their ability. With experience, she had come to terms with her limitations in meeting the special needs of children herself; she had learned to seek out the people that would be key in identifying student needs and/or specifying the reasons why a student did not belong in a French Immersion class. However, the transfer of students was always a last resort in her case. She discussed the issue of transfers as follows:

> Je considère que je suis une personne-ressource pour les enfants, pour qu'ils apprennent le mieux possible. Puis, j'ai appris justement avec l'expérience que si je ne suis pas capable de . . . comme un enfant qui a des problèmes, puis je ne suis pas capable, j'ai appris d'aller chercher les personnes aussi. Avant, je n'étais pas capable de le faire. Je me tapais la tête sur les mûrs, en disant: "Je ne suis pas capable d'apporter de l'aide à cet enfant-là. Je ne sais pas quoi faire avec cet enfant-là." Avec l'expérience, j'ai appris à dire: "Bon, ce ne sont pas tes problèmes, il y a quelqu'un d'autre ailleurs qui va pouvoir l'aider cet enfant-là." Tu arrêtes de te dire que cet enfant-là, il va falloir que tu le sortes de ta classe. Puis, il va falloir que tu le mettes dans une classe en anglais." Ça je trouve ça encore difficile à accepter, à cause peut-être du commentaire, tu sais, "Vous domper tous vos enfants dans nos classes." Ce qui fait que j'essaie toujours d'aller chercher les personnes ressources qui pourraient vraiment spécifier pourquoi cet enfant n'a pas affaire dans ma classe puis pourquoi que je ne peux pas lui apporter l'aide moi-même.

There was a need to address both internal and external factors to the school, as they played a large part in norms of achievement and students' level of motivation in French Immersion programming.

Blue Spruce School

A number of French Immersion teachers at Blue Spruce School saw as an essential part of their role the creation of a positive classroom climate to promote and enhance students' self-confidence in learning in French. Since the French Immersion teachers were their students' only contact with French, of importance to them was the need for the establishment of a strong emotional link between their students and

themselves. A number of teachers felt that a strong teacher-student rapport would allow them to "dig" further into each child for meaningful experiences, as to be able to make implicit or explicit connections between the students' own lived experiences and the knowledge matter to be taught, especially given the "artificial" or "secondary" nature of the Anglo-Albertan student's French Immersion world.

Pedagogical issues that French Immersion teachers at Blue Spruce School identified were: the influence of the anglo-American "pop culture"; the language in which to select library books which dealt with affective issues or personal values, such as divorce, death, etc.; the need to address students' language "plateauing" and lack of affective/emotional vocabulary in the French language, to help them talk about matters of a "deeper/more profound," "more abstract" and "more emotional" nature, while at the same time recognizing that the acquisition of knowledge itself was becoming of greater concern to them than the acquisition of a second language; the need to involve students in real situations of communication; and student transfers from one program to another.

Some teachers considered as another essential part of their role as teachers the promotion of the French language and culture within the classroom and the school. In other words, they viewed themselves as "ambassadors" of the French language and culture. A number of them expected of each other that they be[come] language models for their students, and further, a few even believed that they should project the image of an Francophone within the school to preserve the integrity of the French language and culture.

Several teachers at Blue Spruce School saw the creation of a positive classroom climate as an important aspect of their role as educators, especially in the context of French Immersion programming. They presented various reasons for this.

The promotion of respect and the enhancement of self-confidence were important considerations to both Yves and Laurie, as seen below.

> Mon rôle . . . créer une bonne atmosphère de confiance dans la salle de classe, de respect . . . de confiance en soi, parce qu'effectivement, si les enfants n'ont pas ça, il n'apprennent pas. (Laurie)

> Bien moi, ce que je pense que ce qui marche et ça a pris du temps à le trouver, c'est de créer un ambiance, une atmosphère dans la classe qui est très positive. Alors, il faut que ça soit positif, tu sais, que les enfants, pour commencer, aiment la classe, qu'ils s'aiment eux-mêmes et elles-mêmes et quant même me respectent, qu'ils se sentent confortables avec moi. Ça prend assez de temps à faire ça. (Yves)

Creating such an atmosphere, wherein students feel comfortable with others within the classroom, the French Immersion teacher and him or herself can take some time to accomplish, as noted by Yves.

Noëlle agreed with Yves's belief in the importance of students liking the French Immersion teacher in order to also like the French language. Therefore, more importantly with French Immersion than with the regular English program, there had to be a strong "emotional link [between students and teacher] from the start," especially given that the student had only the teacher with which to identify the language . . . he or she is the only contact."

Teacher knowledge of the emotional aspects of the student was especially important in French Immersion, according to Yves, because one had to "dig" into each child for some meaningful experiences in order to be able to "link" these to what one was to teach; and this took quite a while to do, as is relayed next.

> Le côte affectif de l'éleve est très important. Je me base beaucoup sur le côté affectif qui est très important chez l'enfant, et peut-être parfois plus important que le côté intellectuel surtout à cet âge et parfois c'est assez difficile de distinguer les deux l'un de l'autre. Il faut que tu creuses, chercher dans chaque individu les expériences qu'ils ont vécues et avec ces expériences-là, tu les relies avec ce que tu enseignes en fait de littérature, d'histoire, presque n'importe quoi que tu fais. Puis ça, je trouve que ça prend un bon moment à le faire en immersion.

This concern with making implicit or explicit connections between students' own lived experiences with knowledge matter taught at school was particularly

significant/meaningful as in most cases, the French Immersion context was an "artificial" or a "secondary" world to the English-speaking student learning in French, as pointed out by Yves: "C'est tout à fait vrai mais que l'élève vit dans un monde artificiel."

Given that Yves, who considered himself a Francophone, had lived his life in a predominantly Potentialphone milieu, he concluded that he would have lived his life in an artificial world. Upon this thought, he then opted to use the term "secondary world" instead of "artificial world." He explained his choice of terms by saying that:

> Moi non plus, je ne sais pas si je suis d'accord que l'élève vive dans un monde artificiel. Apparemment, ce n'est pas mal fort "artificiel." On pourrait peut-être dire dans un monde "secondaire." "Secondary world," c'est un terme littéraire que j'ai appris. Ce n'est pas un terme comme imaginaire, mais secondaire. Il est en fait vrai et il est en fait imaginaire.

Noëlle concurred with the idea of the school as "being a fairly artificial domain" for the student to learn a language, given that his or her experiences outside of the school setting will have been lived "solely in English."

Students' experiences outside of the classroom were largely influenced by the "Anglo-American pop culture" especially in young adolescents (Year 4 to 6 levels), according to Yves. To him, the difficulty in teaching was that pop culture brought "instant gratification" to students, and were "in contradiction with the values we want to transmit in class." He maintained that:

> C'est certain qu'au fur et à mesure que l'élève grandit, tu sais, tu es bombardé de combien de gens qui sont anglo-Américains qui sont de la "pop culture" qui est un facteur, bien le facteur le plus fort qui a le plus d'influence dans la société, mais c'est tout en anglais. Je veux dire les films, les revues, les comiques, les bandes dessinées tout tout de ce qui influence le jeune est en anglais. Tu es bombardé, alors je veux dire que je pense que c'est une des raisons pourquoi qu'à la maison quand l'élève approche de l'adolescence, il choisit là, quand la "pop culture," devient importante.

Because of this reality, the selection of books became a central question for Noëlle. Although she ordered the purchase of some books in French, she did so in lesser quantity than in English because if students lived certain issues in English, how would

they then readily discuss these with adults from their own personal environment. She elaborated on this question by stating what follows next:

> I know that when I will select books, if I have the choice of choosing a cooking book in French or in English, what good does it do me if I order it in French? The child will not bring the book and cook at home with Mom. He will do it in English. My books on divorce, death, on central questions, why would the child take a French book to discuss it with parents at home? It is the same thing with religion, with questions pertaining to personal values that you would want the child to be able to discuss with an adult, and the adults in his world are Anglophone. (Translation)

While Noëlle justified the purchase of English materials for the child to be able to read and discuss questions of personal issues or values with Anglophone adults, she, at the same time, pointed out the need to address the "affective/emotional vocabulary" of students between years 3 and 6 levels. She concluded that French Immersion teachers did not provide their students with the necessary vocabulary to help them express/talk about things of a "deeper/more profound," "more abstract," and more "emotional" nature. She saw this as a "domain that we have not been able to develop."

Yves also came to realize that "sometimes the French language just did not suffice year 5 to 7 level students for them to be able to express themselves competently in both the verbal or written modes" because they were in the process of acquiring so much knowledge at that time of their life. Since the acquisition of knowledge became of greater concern for them than the learning of a second language, the fact that they did not master the appropriate level of verbal or written fluency in French was problematic and "frustrating" to them.

Thus, this concern for French language "plateauing," which was apparently typical starting at the year 4 level and upwards, was clearly expressed both by Teachers Yves and Noëlle, as it was in such contrast with the "extraordinary progress shown by students between the Year 1 to 3 levels" (Noëlle).

Another aspect of a French Immersion teacher's role, according to Teachers Yves and Laurie was the promotion of the French language. Yves went a step further by

stating that not only did one become an ambassador of the French language, but also of the French culture.

> Mon rôle, en premier, serait de promouvoir le français, d'aider les enfants à le travailler, à le perfectionner. (Laurie)

> De là, tu deviens un peu un ambassadeur du français, de la langue francaise, de la culture française. Quand même, tu vends la langue un peu. (Yves)

Hence, as French Immersion teachers were to be ambassadors of the French language and perhaps also of some aspects of the French culture, they were clearly expected to be language models for their students, as noted by Keith below:

> En tant que modèle et puis aussi en tant que modèle aussi pour le français je pense qu'il y a beaucoup de professeurs d'immersion qui parlent beaucoup l'anglais dans la salle de classe. Puis moi, je suis d'origine [name of origin other than French or English], mais je suis né ici au Çanada. Je suis Anglais. Je ne suis pas Anglais. Je suis anglophone, et puis je trouve que c'est incroyable, j'enseigne tout en français. Je ne parle jamais--jamais en anglais dans ma salle de classe sauf quand j'enseigne les arts du language [en anglais]. Aussi, il y a une raison très spécifique pour ça. Puis je pense qu'on est un modèle vis-à-vis la moralité, vis-à-vis tu sais le français aussi, c'est un but qui est très--très important.

Laurie, who was also an Anglophone teaching French Immersion, made a point of speaking French the whole day. Even though she lacked the time to read in French or in English outside of school, she made sure that she read alongside with her students during in-class reading activities.

Speaking and reading in French while teaching ensured Laurie the maintenance of her language skills, but did not afford her the opportunity to express herself beyond concrete terms. She felt herself somewhat limited in expressing herself in abstract terms when she encountered adults with whom she wished to discuss higher level books and the like. She revealed that:

> Je parle pendant toute la journée en français. Ça maintient mon français, sauf que quand je rencontre d'autres personnes, des francophones, je me rends compte à quel point mon niveau de français reste à un niveau plutôt concret . . . Je ne peux pas m'exprimer tout le temps en termes pour discuter des affaires plus abstraites . . . Ça, c'est plus difficile parce que je lis en français avec les enfants pendant la journée, comme quand ils lisent, bien moi, je lis aussi, je m'assoie, mais à part ça, je n'ai pas le temps de lire

> puis pas le temps de discuter même en anglais. Je trouve ça . . . Il faut dire que je lisais comme . . . Je n'arrêtais pas quand j'étais toute petite. Je n'ai pas le temps maintenant alors . . . Ça aussi c'est une chose un peu bizarre quand je parle avec des gens de l'université ou quand je regarde des livres puis je me rends compte tabarouette, je ne peux pas vraiment m'exprimer plus que . . . comme je le fais maintenant là, de façon concrète. Alors, c'est quelque chose que j'aimerais travailler.

Although Laurie expressed a concern about maintaining and enhancing her verbal and written skills, and had the opportunity to speak in French with a family member at home, she felt too exhausted to do so, and at the end of the day, wanted nothing to do with French. She admitted that "I talk a little [French] at home with a [family member], except that often when I arrive home, I am so tired that I want nothing to do with French; I just want to speak in English."

The idea of students associating the French language with French Immersion teachers was crucial to Monique. That is why she posed the following question: "When teachers are hired within this district, we should ask ourselves who we hire. Do we hire an Anglophone who is ready to be a Francophone just to earn a salary and have a job, or do we hire a Francophone who has the desire to project that image?," i.e., that of a Francophone.

Motivated by the desire to keep the "integrity of the French language" by encouraging students to associate French Immersion teachers with the French language, Monique would have liked to see each of the language programs at the school being assigned a different wing or section of the school. Her concern was that when teachers of two different language programs met in the hallways, they would automatically communicate in the English language, and that upon witnessing this, French Immersion students would begin to feel that French was not really important after all. She said that:

> J'ài dit: "Ecoute [Nom du directeur] . . . J'ai dit: "On est dans une école d'immersion, puis tu vas nous mettre les [d'autres classes non-immersion] qu'est ce que tu penses qu'on va parler dans le corridor. On va parler en anglais! "Parce que moi, quand je vois [Nom d'un autre enseignant de l'autre programme bilingue], je ne peux pas lui dire: "Bonjour, comment ça va?" Ça fait que je dis: "Bonjour, how are you today?" Bon, bien tu sais, mes enfants, ils m'associent. "Mets tous les [élèves et profs de l'autre

> programme bilingue] d'un bord, mets tous les Français de l'autre bord." Là, ce n'était pas bon pour l'intégrité des trois langues.

Aside from having French Immersion students see and hear their teachers speak in French among themselves, putting them in "real situations of communication" by way of correspondence with other Francophile or Francophone student populations across the province or elsewhere was an important aspect of teaching French, as it provided students with more meaningful experiences/purposes to use the language. Keith explained that his class "write a lot to [name of place of correspondence]. We do a lot of real-life things for the children; they are real situations of communication."

Even though Keith considered himself modern in this use of teaching methods, he also considered himself traditional in the sense that he insisted that his students know how to conjugate verbs and make proper use of conventions in terms of grammar and so on, a practice he suspected district consultants may not have endorsed. In his view, it was important to achieve a balance between traditional and modern approaches to teaching French as a second language.

To what degree did French Immersion students have to master the French language to be considered bilingual was a question pondered by Yves. He seemed to believe that there were various degrees of bilingualism, which were largely dependent on a number of factors, such as one's level of ambition, one's level of education, etc., as seen below:

> Oui c'est difficile à juger, mais en parlant d'élèves qui sont bilingues, moi, j'ai dèjà dit à plusieurs de mes élèves: "Disons que la semaine prochaine vous déménageriez à je sais pas moi au Gabbon, en Afrique, et puis vous iriez vous inscrire au programme en 5e année. Je pense qu'après quelques mois d'ajustement, vous feriez aussi bien que les élèves du pays. C'est ça que je veux dire par bilingue ou bien que si on demenageait à Ottawa, votre enfant fonctionnerait très bien dans le milieu canadien, la plupart d'entre eux, oui. C'est ça, c'est quoi une personne bilingue? Qui connaît bien l'anglais? Je peux recruter bien des gens qui parlent l'anglais. Je pense que ça depend de l'individu. Ça depend de ses ambitions. Ça depend de quel niveau d'éducation il a atteint, s'il a un degré universitaire s'il a toujours été bilingue. C'est certain qu'il va mieux connaître les deux langues que quelqu'un qui a quitté en 9e année. Il va mieux fonctionner dans son milieu.

Yves has come to recognize the problems encountered in the acquisition of two or three languages on the part of the students, but at the same time, he had come to accept them and was not worried about not finding an instant cure to remedy them because he has concluded that the advantages superseded the disadvantages of second and third language learning.

In some cases, it may be that certain children may not be benefiting from French Immersion programs, and in these instances, student transfers from French Immersion to English programming may be given serious consideration.

However, Noëlle commented that "too often, parental belief was that student transfer would miraculously solve everything." Thus, to her, it was important for the team of specialists involved in the decision-making process with parents of a candidate for such a transfer to help them understand that if, for example, a student had a problem with reversal of letters or numbers, that it would occur in English as well as in French.

In Noëlle's view, "a much as possible, [schools with French Immersion programs] had to try to meet student needs, while keeping him within his registered program."

When students experiencing difficulties did receive additional help through resource room teachers, it was important to Noëlle that timetabling between the classroom teacher and the resource room teacher be the least disruptive possible for the students, and that they not be assigned double the work to cover both in-class and in-resource room work. "As much as possible, [Noëlle] attempted to make the resource room a place where students like to come and where a lot of reinforcement of concepts was done through manipulatives and games."

Helping French Immersion students gain knowledge and meaningful experiences in French in a "secondary" or "artificial" world was an important pedagogical consideration to French Immersion teachers at Blue Spruce School. A number of participants emphasized the need to be French language models and a few saw themselves as ambassadors of the French culture.

Red Cedar School

A number of participants from Red Cedar School spoke about the difficulty in balancing the teaching of French as a language, on the one hand, and French as a culture on the other hand. Some wondered how French Immersion students who were not descendants of a Franco-Albertan heritage could identify with the various interpretations of French culture taught in the school. There appeared to be a lack of agreement among French Immersion teachers as to the definition of a Francophone culture. First, some saw culture as separate from language, while others viewed both as intrinsically linked. Second, some saw culture as cultural folklore limited to a certain place and time; others viewed it as being more than cultural folklore, and as extending beyond a certain time and place, and thus, as being in constant evolution. Because French Immersion teachers were the sole models of the language and transmitters of the culture, some made a conscious effort to attempt to keep in touch with the "modern" French language and culture, so as to give their students a sense that French was still alive today, i. e., that it was not, in fact, an ancient language or culture, and that there was indeed a purpose in learning it. Again, there was a concern with the level of mastery of the target language on the part of French Immersion colleagues, because of pedagogical implications.

A number of participants addressed the "enormous differences" between teaching immersion, as opposed to first language programs. They were: the need to exhibit a warm and human approach to make the child feel secure and to establish a climate conducive to learning, especially in the beginning years when the student was unfamiliar with the language of instruction; the need for increased patience due to constant repetition; the need to compensate for the student's lack of language and/or cultural baggage, i. e., prior knowledge, in French; the need for visual aids since the student was not in the "right" physical environment to learn French; the need to address the problem of having students' level of cognitive understanding greater than the level of comprehension in the French language; the presence of books which are "too babyish" in

content or too difficult in language level; the need to develop or purchase one's own teaching support materials, such as manipulatives, games, records, etc.; the need to translate resources and/or to adapt them to meet their students' needs; the need to reassure parents that students should remain in French Immersion programming; the importance of motivating students through a student-centered approach or through the use of "fun" strategies, especially upon their realization that they were probably working harder than their English counterparts; and the need to address student transfers.

Several participants at Red Cedar School addressed the difficulty of balancing the teaching of French as a language and French as a culture, especially when teaching Social Studies. Their views on this issue varied greatly from one French teacher to another.

Because his students are not descendants of a French-Western Canadian heritage, Sylvain wondered to what degree students could really relate and identify with the French culture. In this respect, he has found it difficult to "sell" it to his students.

> On n'a pas dans cette classe-ci [des élèves] dont les parents sont francophones, alors, jusqu'à quel point est-ce qu'ils vont ressentir que c'est une partie de leur histoire . . . A peu près la moitié de la classe vient de l'Europe, un quart vient d'autres pays du monde. Alors, la description des Européens qui arrivaient ici était assez différente . . . De ce point de vue-là, je trouve ça difficile de vendre un historique qui va vraiment atteindre tous les gens [élèves]. C'est vraiment difficile.

Sylvain felt torn between teaching the French culture to his students, one which reflected French Western-Canadian culture, and yet prepared them for their present day environment. He saw the teaching of French solely as a second language (e.g., language arts, mathematics) easier to "sell" because students of French Immersion do not expect to become Francophone nor to identify themselves with a Francophone nation. Rather, they come to school to learn the language of French and return home to their own culture. This is particularly the case with those students who are learning French as a third language and speak a mother tongue other than French at home.

> Du point de vue de l'enseignement du français, c'est un peu plus facile, parce que les programmes [autres que les études sociales] sont un peu plus faciles à vendre, parce que les gens [élèves] ne s'attendent pas vraiment à

> être, à devenir francophone, ou à s'identifier avec un peuple francophone. Ils retournent chez eux, puis chacun plus ou moins, à leur culture. Même si on avait des ressources bien préparées, ça serait difficile à cause du fait qu'on a des élèves qui viennent de tous les pays du monde.

The idea of French Immersion students going to school to learn a language rather than a culture was supported in Carole's following statement:

> In terms of the immersion kids, they're not really here to pick up another culture. I have 15 of 25 students that already have a third language so they have a culture, they practice that culture at home. They do, however, develop an appreciation for another culture and all the different races that there are in the classroom, and you share that in an indirect way. I think that's where tolerance comes from. To see all the different cultures and how we can function together and if you want to go a step further, that's how the world has got to function these days. It's not through a "hell-fire" attitude to keep your language, no one is trying to push anyone under but there must be a way that everyone can survive.

In accordance with Sylvain and Carole, Vivianne reported that "it [was] mostly the language, not so much the culture" that she transmitted to her French Immersion students, although she conceded that "language is also culture." She put the emphasis on teaching "how the language works, how to speak it, and how to interpret what was said," in an international, Canadian and Albertan context, not just in the context of the province of Québec. She also made a point of inviting young French-speaking Albertans to come and talk to her students to expose them to French outside of Québec. Hence, she acknowledged that this very fact implied [some form of] culture. Still, she maintained that "[she] does/will not teach culture, as in [her] opinion, they [some other French Immersion teachers] teach Québec culture." Coming from a non-Québecois(e) culture, she did not know it enough to transmit it. To her, she "would have to make an effort as to how to teach it like they interpret it." She affirmed that she "[had] a culture, which she probably taught, but she was not aware of what it was."

It was interesting to note that when Vivianne spoke of Québec culture, she often referred to what others may consider as "cultural folklore," a more narrow definition of culture, which would include traditional celebrations, such as the Winter "Carnaval," the "Cabane à sucre," etc. At the same time, she was obviously aware of its larger meaning,

as she believed that teaching cultural folklore would give students the false impression that Québec was still ancient. Although she would have liked to, she felt that she lacked the proper resources not only to convey to them the modern culture of that province, but also of France and certain French-speaking parts of Ontario, etc. Hence, the only reason she was interested in the "Carnaval" and "Cabane à sucre," events which she qualified as "artificial" was that they offered students the opportunity "to play in French" and "to do something different" in that language.

According to Vivianne, the inability of some French Immersion teachers to communicate the perpetual evolution of French did not restrict itself to culture, but also to the language itself. Once again, she felt that "the French which we seem to teach . . . we give them the impression that it is old, while in my opinion, French is very advanced, even more advanced than [in] Alberta." In an attempt to keep in touch with modern French language and culture, Vivianne, who lived in English at home, had to make an effort to read, watch television, follow Francophone singers from France and Canada, and take Faculté Saint-Jean courses to maintain her French and "be with Francophones who live in French."

Although it was clear to Sylvain, Carole and Vivianne that French Immersion students came to school to learn a language and return home to their own culture, Sylvain and Vivianne still found the teaching of language versus the teaching of culture a difficult balancing act.

Perhaps, it was the very fact that students and parents of French Immersion programs did not live the French culture that motivated Ursula to be the best possible French model she could be. To her, language and culture were intrinsically linked.

Ursula contrasted the French Immersion program to another existing bilingual program in her school. She attributed the "dynamism" of the latter to the fact that the grandparents, parents and children actually lived the non-English culture at home to a certain degree, by speaking the target language or dressing in certain ways, etc. She

maintained that "We, in immersion, it [the culture] is us [French Immersion teachers]; at home, immersion ceases."

Even though French Immersion teachers are the sole French cultural and/or language models in the lives of French Immersion students, often in Ursula's opinion, they must compromise their pedagogical beliefs to ensure a greater degree of involvement on the part of parents. As opposed to teachers of the other bilingual program in her school, Ursula was forced to "slip in a lot more English than desired" in cultural performances given by her students in order to ensure the comprehension of parents.

Because French was not reinforced in the homes of her students, Ursula took the idea of "represent[ing] the French model" to heart. It was important to her that her students associate her with French. Students had rarely approached her in English in all of her immersion teaching career, as they knew she "did not speak English well." She added that "they will do anything to try to communicate with their teacher, but in French." She attributed better results than other French Immersion teachers who taught their students English language arts to the fact that students associated her with French only, not English.

Ursula was thankful she was not required to teach English as she considered that she would be a "poor teacher." In parallel, she questioned the linguistic competencies of some of her French Immersion colleagues, who had to teach subject areas such as Mathematics in French, without full mastery of the target language.

Obviously, the level of mastery of the target language on the part of French Immersion teachers was an important issue to Ursula because of its pedagogical implications. At the same time, according to Principal Clark, the influx of Western Canadian French Immersion teachers was having a positive influence on French Immersion students because they had been specifically trained as second language

teachers, not as first language teachers, as many French Immersion teachers had been. He reported that:

> Not in this specific school because we haven't had much change within the school. But what I'm hearing from some other Principal friends is that it's having a positive influence. We're not having the large numbers of Quebec French that were moving in at one time when our programs were expanding rapidly. These are people coming in, quite frankly who were not trained as Immersion teachers. They were trained as first language teachers.

According to some participants at Red Cedar School, the differences between teaching in an immersion program and in a first language program were enormous.

One difference identified by Ursula was the immersion teacher's approach toward the children. She stressed the need for the teacher to exhibit a warm and human approach by smiling a lot and the like in order to make the child feel secure and to establish a climate which was conducive to learning. Ursula spoke of the need for this approach in the context of kindergarten to grade 2 classes, as students are not only unfamiliar with the teacher at the start of the year, but also not cognizant of the language in which they were approached by the teacher. She elaborated on the teacher's approach toward children as being of particular importance in immersion in the following way:

> Elles sont énormes, elles sont énormes, les différences. Un professeur qui enseigne en immersion comparé à un professeur qui enseigne disons en anglais dans la langue maternelle. C'est ça o.k. il y en a , il y a beaucoup de différences, je dirais beaucoup au niveau de l'approche, l'approche que tu as envers tes enfants, envers une classe disons bon, on parle de 1ère ou 2e année aux niveaux les plus bas o.k.. Je pense que le professeur d'immersion se doit d'être très patient, les autres professeurs aussi, mais en immersion davantage, chaleureux, humains parce que l'enfant en plus de pas te connaître ne connaît pas la langue, dans laquelle tu l'abordes, alors c'est pour l'enfant une insécurité. Toi, tu es là pour créer une atmosphère propice à l'apprentissage. Alors il faut que tu sois humaine, chaleureuse, au début beaucoup de sourires, beaucoup de contacts. En tous les cas, ça a été mon approche, pour ne pas faire peur aux enfants parce que je leur parlais toujours en français, mais avec un sourire tandis que peut-être que quand c'est la langue anglaise, tu le fais, il faut le faire aussi, mais peut-être pas à cette extrême-là. Alors, l'attitude du professeur y est pour beaucoup.

Another difference Ursula mentioned was the need for the teacher to demonstrate greater patience than non-immersion teachers. Patience was required as constant

repetition of a message to students could become quite tiresome. Since immersion teachers expected their students to speak in French, they had to show/exercise patience in listening to them and allow them enough time to carefully choose their words in French instead of requesting them to say what they had to in English to get it over with. In this sense, student learning appeared to be slow in the beginning stages. Ursula expressed her view about patience as another difference in immersion teaching by stating that:

> Ensuite, c'est certain au niveau répétitif, ça vient fatiguant répéter et répéter le même message plusieurs fois, alors dans les débuts, l'apprentissage est lent parce que ça ne sert à rien de passer à quelque chose d'autre avant que l'étape soit acquise, alors pour un professeur d'immersion, il faut être patient et mettre la pédale douce sinon on peut avoir des petits problèmes et être frustré aussi o.k.. Il faut être patient en écoutant l'enfant parce qu si tu exiges de lui qu'il te parle en français, il faut que tu lui donnes le temps d'aller chercher son vocabulaire en français. C'est certain que la solution la plus facile serait: O.k., dis-le moi en anglais." Puis c'est fini. "Va t'asseoir." Mais, tu veux éviter ça, alors: "O.k., essaie de trouver tes mots."

A third difference between immersion and non-immersion teaching, which was pointed out by Ursula was that no prior knowledge or experiences acquired by students before coming to school could be taken for granted, as all past experiences they brought to the classroom had occurred in a language other than French. Therefore, the French Immersion teacher's starting point with students was quite different from non-immersion teachers as it was up to them to provide children with the equivalent of 5 or 6 years of experiences, but in French. Although this task was particularly demanding in terms of teacher preparation, it was essential in a child-centered pedagogy. Ursula explained why immersion teachers could not take any prior knowledge and experiences of students for granted as such:

> Tu ne peux rien prendre pour acquis en immersion, tu ne peux pas prendre pour acquis: "Ah, ils doivent savoir ça." Non, non c'est de la répétition pi si ça n'a pas été répété, il ne le sait pas parce que c'est pas à la maison qu'il va l'avoir. Ce n'est pas avec ses amis puis ce n'est pas à la télévision non plus. Alors, viens prendre pour acquis on commence à un et on monte. On commence à et on monte o.k.. Ensuite, bon, on dit toujours qu'un bon enseignement, c'est de partir du vecu de l'enfant o.k. de ses expériences passeés, présentées . . . Alors, en contexte d'immersion, c'est très difficile parce que l'enfant arrive à l'école puis n'a pas vécu rien en français. Alors,

> dejà, on part sur un point de vue différent, sur un pied différent. Alors, c'est à toi de leur procurer ces expériences-là, mais ça prend quand même toute une préparation à faire alors je pense que ça c'est une gros differénce au niveau de l'immersion et de la langue maternelle.

Wilma also commented that if a Francophone student were to be in her hypothetical French first language class, he or she would bring with him or her a "language baggage" and a "cultural baggage," meaning that the student would have in his or her possession prior knowledge of the French language and prior experiences in a Francophone milieu. Because of these prior knowledge and experiences, this teacher would not be required to stop at every moment to explain what a particular word or expression meant. She could safely assume that the student would understand what she would be talking about. In her opinion, this assumption could not be made in French Immersion. She illustrated this point by saying that:

> Bien ça, c'est parce que c'est comme les francophones, vois-tu? Tantôt, tu demandais ce qui fait la différence entre professeur d'immersion et professeur d'anglais, bien ça c'en est une. Parce que, tu sais comme je disais tantôt, le francophone lui-là, il vient dans ma classe, il a un bagage, il n'a pas besoin de, si j'enseigne la leçon de français, puis dans la leçon de français, on parle des joues du bonhomme de neige qui étaient rouges, ses yeux brillaient, ils étaient noirs, puis ils écrivent tout ça, puis ils apprennent à écrire les couleurs, tout ça quand j'arrive en sciences sociales et puis je parle des yeux, je n'ai pas besoin d'écrire au tableau, d'écrire: "YEUX NOIRS, YEUX BLEUS, " puis de dire aux enfants comment on écrit "bleu", comment on écrit "noir". Je n'ai pas besoin de le faire parce qu'eux, ils comprennent, ils savent de quoi tu parles, puis tu n'as pas besoin te t'arrêter sur tout, tout, tout, tout, tout. Ça c'en est un autre point pour répondre à ta question. C'est vraiment complexe, l'enseignement d'immersion, je trouve. C'est spécial. Moi, j'ai même entendu des profs qui ont enseigné en immersion, qui sont retournés au Québec. Un de mes amis, il enseigne dans leur langue, il enseigne le français à des francophones puis il dit: "C'est le paradis terrestre. Ce n'est pas des farces, ça va assez bien, ça va assez vite là. Je n'ai même pas besoin de préparer le soir. Je sais ce que je vais faire le lendemain, puis je n'ai pas besoin de tant de matériel. Ils savent de quoi je parle. Je suis au paradis terrestre . . . "sinon des corrections, c'est tout."

A fourth difference between immersion and non-immersion teachers, as identified both by Ursula and Wilma, was the need for visual aids since according to Wilma, the "children are not in [the right] physical environment to learn the language." Real objects are not always within the immediate reach of the students or teacher. This is why it is

important for the child to have access to visual aids so that they may associate words with pictures and ultimately understand concepts taught in subject areas such as Science, Social Studies and the like.

Wilma has come to believe that the major differences between immersion and regular teaching are the lack of "real" physical environment for the classroom teacher and students and the lack of French "cultural baggage" on the part of the students. She affirmed that : Les éléments qui font la différence [entre l'enseignement immersif et régulier], bien c'est ça, l'environnement physique et le bagage culturel. She contrasted the teaching of Francophone students who study in their mother tongue with immersion students. As opposed to the Francophone student, the immersion student does not have a "cultural baggage," a frame of reference upon which to compare and build knowledge. When working with immersion students, teachers must repeat, re-write, re-explain most everything when going from one subject to another.

> J'étais dans l'environnement physique pour apprendre la langue, tandis que mes enfants ne sont pas dans un environnement physique. Il n'y a pas les choses visuelles à leur portée, puis à la portée du professeur. C'est pour ça que je disais tantôt là, c'est quoi les éléments qui font la différence, bien c'est ça: l'environnement physique et ensuite . . . Le baggage culturel. Ce sont des points, en tous les cas, que moi j'ai perçus et puis aussi, parce que je l'ai finalement vecu moi-même l'immersion comme telle, puis c'est ça qui m'a fait comprendre beaucoup de choses puis avec les tout-petits aussi, c'est souvent ça que je fais. C'est pour ça que tous les murs sont couverts de mots . . . à force d'images, parce qu'on en a de besoin. Quand on les étudie puis on réalise que les trois quarts de notre audience est visuelle et non auditive là, tu dis: "TABAROUETTE. Ça ça s'appelle," Il faut que je leur montre des choses pour qu'ils voient et en plus moi, il faut que je leur enseigne à lire. C'est pour ça que je mets tout ce que je peux pour qu'ils puissent voir. Au début, j'utilisais la méthode: "Bon, on parle d'une reine, dessine-moi une reine." Et puis là, je le mettais sur le tableau, mais ce n'est pas évident pour l'autre petit garçon qui ne l'a pas dessiné que c'est une reine que l'autre a fait. Maintenant moi, je le mets et ensuite je le fais dessiner par eux-mêmes. Mais avant, j'utilisais leur dessins pour mettre là. Je me suis rendue compte que ça ne marchait pas. Ils ne pouvaient pas apprendre parce qu'ils n'avaient pas eu le temps. Ça fait toute une différence. C'est sûr. Parce que si par exemple mettons, je fais les sciences sociales, il faut que je leur montre aussi la lecture en même temps. Je parle des débuts, des débuts de l'apprentissage 1ère-2e. Ensuite, l'aspect visuel est très important en langue seconde, au bas niveau en langue maternelle aussi, mais en langue seconde, je pense à toutes les fois que tu dis un mot, c'est bon d'avoir l'image parce que l'enfant associe le

> mot à l'image et il va le faire. Alors ramasser ton matériel, faire sûr que tu as à toutes les fois que tu construis un thème. C'est davantage de travail puis au niveau du matériel en français bon on est pas au Québec, alors il faut que tu le cherches ton matériel. Alors, c'est déjà beaucoup.

A fifth difference outlined by Ursula was that as in non-immersion programs, French Immersion teachers had the mandate to teach the same curriculum objectives in all subject areas, except French Language Arts. Many of these objectives were covered through inquiry questions which tended to deal with more abstract concepts and which required higher levels of mental processes. However, the challenge of the immersion teacher, as opposed to the non-immersion teacher, was to ensure that students had the proper language tools to properly understand, process and communicate information about abstract concepts through oral and written means. Too often, because students stumbled on language problems, they could not properly deal with abstract concepts in Science, Mathematics, Social Studies, etc.

> Ce n'est pas évident et c'est un peu pour ça aussi que l'on oublie l'élément là que peut-être beaucoup d'enfants à la fin du programme de la 6 année, on ne leur a pas montré à penser dans la langue seconde, peut-être à parler mais pas nécessairement à penser, à s'exprimer. C'est délicat, ce sont des nuances qu'il ne faut pas oublier. [I: Les niveaux de pensée plus élevés]. Oui, il faut absolument aller là parce que les enfants sont brillants dans nos classes comme en anglais. Alors, il faut les pousser encore. C'est difficile car aussitôt que tu sors du concret à l'abstrait, les enfants bloquent au niveau langagier, niveau langage mais il ne faut pas se laisser bloquer par ça, il faut y aller. Il faut leur donner les outils ou peut-être même d'accepter un peu d'anglais pour que l'enfant puisse s'exprimer pour qu'il, dans son apprentissage, puisse dire qu'est-ce qu'il pense. Alors, l'élement langue seconde devient très difficile à ce temps-ci. Alors oui, ça se fait, oui les enfants réussissent à avoir des bonnes connaissances dans la langue, mais ça demande beaucoup de la part du professeur parce que l'on peut compter presque juste sur le professeur comme modèle. A la maison, ils vont le faire. Ils vont apprendre les connaissances, mais ça va être en anglais. Alors, graduellement, ils réussissent à les transférer dans la langue seconde, mais il faut quand même leur donner un bon bagage. Je ne sais pas si j'ai couvert tout parce que je pense que c'est tellement délicat, tellement. Il y en a plein d'autre petits points qu'on pourrait parler sur ça.
>
> Bon ensuite, si on nous demande d'enseigner les autres matières en français, comme les études sociales par exemple, ce sont des questions d'enquête c'est quand même assez abtrait puis on demande à l'enfant d'exprimer ses opinions, ses idées par rapport à cette question d'enquête-là. En contexte d'immersion, c'est la même chose, on a les mêmes objectifs à

> atteindre. Mais tu as la langue qui peut être une barrière. La question est presque la même, mais l'enfant, pour arriver à y répondre, doit faire un cheminement autre que si c'etait dans sa langue puis c'est frustrant pour l'enfant s'il ne trouve pas les mots pour s'exprimer. C'est frustrant pour le professeur aussi parce que l'on ne sait pas vraiment ses opinions, alors il faut que tu leur donnes ce bagage-là à toutes les matières enseignées. Alors ça, c'est une grosse différénce que si c'était en langue maternelle. Ensuite, on dit que la langue est un outil de communication, alors il faut que toi, le prof., tu leur donnes tout pour qu'ils réussissent à communiquer dans la langue seconde. Je pense qu'on a manqué le bateau. Alors, le professeur a une grosse charge parce qu'il, bon, la langue, c'est la communication, mais c'est aussi le profcessus de pensée. Aussi, il ne s'agit pas juste de dire: "Oui ça, c'est un bonbon, ça, c'est une table," mais c'est d'arriver à exprimer ce qu'il pense dans la langue seconde sinon je pense que l'"immersion . . . On a manqué quelque chose, puis ça c'est un moyen contrat.

Vivianne concurred with Ursula by identifying the challenge of meeting upper elementary students' cognitive needs, especially in areas such as Social Studies. She explained that their level of cognitive comprehension was much greater than their level of French language comprehension. This discrepancy became particularly apparent when students were required to do research, as they became "blocked" and "discouraged" when faced with material requiring reading comprehension. Vivianne was of the opinion that French Immersion teachers would never be able to develop students' French skills at the reading comprehension level because they only heard French in class, did not read at home, and had a poor selection of French books as compared to English ones. Often, French books were "too babyish" in content and/or too difficult in language level.

Sylvie reported a decline in Social Studies marks in district and provincial exams alike, both at year 3 and 6 levels. She attributed the decline in year 3 marks to a lack of time to cover all three Social Studies themes, and explained the adjustments Alberta Education was making to the year 1, 2 and 3 curricula. Now, division I teachers were to have the choice to cover only 2 of the 3 proposed Social Studies topics. The other reason she gave to justify the decline in year 3 and 6 exams was the lack of vocabulary of French Immersion students necessary to get through these examinations. She affirmed that: "Ils n'arrivent pas à compléter les examens parce qu'ils n'ont pas le vocabulaire, parce qu'on

n'a pas assez de temps pour division un [le 1er cycle] ou qu'on ne passe pas beaucoup de temps avec le vocabulaire."

The question of availability of adequate resources seemed central in aiding teachers address the issue of vocabulary.

Although Rachel recognized that resources were perhaps more plentiful in her school district as compared to others across Alberta, she still found herself buying additional materials at a local French bookstore, at conferences, etc. Other teachers lent her some materials and she also translated English books and wrote her own material. She did this out of necessity, although it was time-consuming and she did not like having to do it. She said that:

> Si je n'ai pas les ressources et j'ai besoin de trouver quelque chose et la seule chose que j'ai est en anglais, je vais le faire. Ça prends du temps, tu n'aimes pas le faire, mais tu vas le faire quand même.

Before publishers recognized the needs of French Immersion teachers, she also had to develop a lot of her manipulatives and games. Even though teacher resource needs were now better met, she maintained that resources remained a personal expense, past the initial small allowance allotted to each teacher at her school. She stated that:

> Quand j'ai commencé, ils ne faisaient pas du tout ça. Il fallait que tu achètes ça toi-même. Ta première année d'enseignement, ça prenait beaucoup d'argent, mais maintenant, ils nous donnent X dollars et . . . après ça, ça sort de notre poche.

Wilma concurred with Rachel. She stated that:

> Il n'y a rien qu'ils nous proposent pour nous aider, nous enrichir. Je trouve qu'on est assez au dépourvu, surtout les premières années d'enseignement. C'était terrible, ça. Tu sais, tu sors de l'université, tu ne connais rien, tu n'as pas de matériel, tu n'as pas d'argent pour en acheter non plus parce que tu paies tes affaires, puis tu n'as rien.

Wilma recalled buying all of her classroom records herself because she could not remember all the songs she had learned as a child. As far as library resources, she drew the analogy of being transposed in China, and having to learn to cope as best one could. She added that that was what French Immersion teachers were still doing.

When co-planning a subject area unit with an Anglophone colleague, Vivianne explained how all written materials had to first be drawn up in English to enable proper communication between both parties, and then translated by herself for her classroom use, a task she found very time-consuming. When co-planning units with both French and English teachers, Theresa acknowledged the additional work involved in terms of time and preparation in accommodating both parties. She explained below:

> Yes, because sometimes we did it in English and in French and that again was more work . . . but it was easier if we did it say, three French teachers, and the whole unit was written in French, but there were some English teachers in the other program and so that made it a little more difficult, but still it could be accommodated and especially when you were doing things like picture viewing or asking them to look at filmstrips and things like that, then they would respond and there were questions they had to do, they would respond in whatever language that they were using in the classroom. The filmstrips would be in English, but their answers would have to be in French. They could look at the picture and they would respond, we just had to make sure the questions were in either language, in the language of instruction.

Another aspect demanding additional work on the part of the French Immersion teacher, according to Vivianne, was in relation to parents. In her opinion, parents of French Immersion students were "more aware," "more interested," "want [ed] to know what was going on in the classroom," and ha[d] increased contact with [teachers]," which to her, required "a bit more work." To a great extent, the greater involvement of French Immersion parents appeared to be motivated by their need to be reassured that their child(ren) should remain in the program.

The advantage of greater contact between parents and teachers of French Immersion was, according to Vivianne, that both parties came to know each other better; therefore, parents were usually quicker to phone if problems arose in relation to their child(ren).

The reality of additional work being required was not unique to teachers of French Immersion, but also to their students. It was Rachel's belief that "Quand tu es dans un

programme d'immersion, il faut que tu travailles un peu plus fort que tes amis dans des programmes anglais."

Upon students' realization that French Immersion meant more work and that "they were beginning to tire a bit of the language," Rachel observed that "I don't know if our children are lazy or what, they don't want to work as much," once they reach Year 4 to 6 levels. This reality was a great preoccupation of hers, as it made her question the purpose and outcome of the French Immersion program. She stated the following:

> La chose qui m'inquiète le plus, c'est que je vois que nos élèves ne continuent pas en français. Ils vont dans des programmes anglais. Est-ce qu'on a l'immersion pour une raison? Parce qu'on peut bien voir que ça ne fontionne pas. Il y en a qui montent jusqu'à la douzième [année], mais pas beaucoup.

In parallel, the declining numbers of students in French Immersion programs at Red Cedar School's Division I level were due to a large number of transfers at the year 2 and 3 levels, because parents refused to have their students kept back another year. Sylvie affirmed that: "On a vu un gros déménagement. . . . Le groupe qui rentrait en troisième était vraiment encore au niveau de la deuxième, mais les parents ne voulaient pas qu'on les fasse répéter."

A need for increased assistance and adequate assessment instruments in the determination of student transfers from French Immersion to regular English programming was an ongoing concern for Principal Clark, as seen below:

> Also there is still an ongoing concern in that we would like to have better advice and assistance when it comes to determining whether a child should in reality go to a single language program, such as just the regular program. We do not have really adequate assessment instruments in terms of reading assessment for example in French. We still don't have all our answers in place as to what the language of testing should be. You know, pretty ambiguous what we're getting from Alberta Education. They're telling us that the children, even if their language of instruction is French, they do better in English testing, so I don't know whether that's conclusive evidence or not.

Aside from the additional challenges faced both by teachers and students of French Immersion in terms of time, work and resources, some teachers felt that individual

pedagogical/teaching styles and strategies played a key role in the success of the program in relation to students' proficiency of the French language and in the sense of motivating them to remain in the program.

The importance of "motivating children" through "fun strategies" as opposed to the old way or lecturing grammar was stressed by Carole. She stated that "you have to motivate students by addressing them as children in childhood and sharing the focus with language development. Nothing is compromised; you're still pushing language 100%." In other words, she believed that the teaching of the second language should not be done in isolation from the students' socio-emotional needs. She reiterated that "You really have to address childhood . . . the new strategies, look for the interesting, the fun strategies so that kids will learn French."

To help her do just that, Carole tended to borrow a lot of her second language strategies from drama. She offered the following example to demonstrate how she could put her teaching philosophy into action:

> Like in my in-services, I explain to them and there's the three stages of development in drama, how you have to recognize your personal before you're even able to interact. Like some teachers will throw kids into a situation where they have to OK, "Right now, with your partner, on the stage, you're going to present." Well, do that to an adult and see how far you get. These are kids, they have to go through the developmental processes, just like anybody else. But we do it to kids, we just did it again, at the Christmas concert. "You kids are going to be the actors" OK and to me that's very offensive, because it's not developed, not developmental, so I try as much as possible developing my classroom with them. For example, we just did it at Halloween, we did a radio play. And so we worked a lot on sound and hearing, and you can see that some are more ready to go for it than others, and that's normal in a classroom. It is just like reading, reading abilities. So when they made up a radio play, a great motivator for French they found sound was the end product, but the beginning was a lot of: "What sound do you hear when I do this" you know and building up strategies, "What story do you think, can come from this" I gave them sounds, just banging on things and they built stories around that so, all the time it's push for language but it's starting within.

Carole's choice of teaching strategies was primarily motivated by a concern with meeting students' socio-emotional needs, and was largely based on the use of learning centres, themes and family groupings within the classroom.

This student-centered approach of teaching the second language had been one of the basic premises upon which the latest French Language Arts curriculum was built. Nonetheless, Vivianne acknowledged that there were still a number of existing problems with this new curriculum as she did not believe that it was being implemented as it has been meant to be. Rather, it was common practice to borrow from the former and new curricula, especially at the Division II level, because of the increased level of difficulty and number of objectives to realize.

In Vivianne's view, a positive aspect of the latest language curriculum was that it encouraged increased integration of subject areas. To her, "it is the only way that it can work." She elaborated on the difficulties of the latest language program below:

> Puis le programme, le nouveau programme, il y a pas mal de problèmes encore. Je ne pense pas qu'il est implanté comme il a été concu. Je ne pense pas que ça se fait comme ça maintenant. Je pense que c'est un mélange de l'ancien et du nouveau, puis je ne pense pas qu'ils suivent vraiment les étapes qu'ils ont. Puis, c'est difficile. Ça ne marche pas. Ça ne peut pas être structuré comme ils le pensent: un motif, trois activités, puis deux objectifs. Puis alors, peut-être qu'au niveau plus bas, parce que les objectifs sont plus limités, mais rendu aux niveaux de la 4e, 5e et de la 6e années tu sais, il y a des objectifs des fois que tu n'as pas besoin de poursuivre pour faire d'autre chose. Puis, c'est bon, je pense qu'il y a plus d'intégration avec le nouveau programme. Ça c'est bon, moi j'aime ça. Je pense que c'est la seule manière qui peut marcher. . . . Cest d'intégrer.

Although the student-centered approach or "pédagogie ouverte" was highly advocated in the French Immersion program of studies, Vivianne observed that a number of teachers, irrespective of the language program they taught, were highly critical of such practices. She said that "There are some teachers who are intolerant in a way; they do not accept something totally different such as "pedagogie ouverte . . . [and that] students might be noisier." Vivianne explained that since there is an emphasis on oral communication in French Immersion, the level of noise may be higher in classes of this program. Because of this, some non-immersion teachers view French Immersion

teachers as lacking discipline vis-à-vis their students. She further elaborated on this point:

> [L'autre prof.] lui a dit: "Mais je veux garder les portes fermées, puis je ne veux pas quemes éleves aillent là. Alors, il a dit: "Oui d'accord." Donc, ça a bien marché. J'aurais aimé rester dans l'aire ouverte, mais je sais que ma classe était un peu trop forte mais c'est un travail moral aussi quand tu as deux classes anglaises et il y a une classe anglaise a coté de moi puis l'autre. Puis l'immersion c'est l'oral 3/4 de la journée. C'est parler, parler et parler. Donc, c'est difficile puis des [élèves de] 6e année sont plus grands, ils ont une voix plus forte quand ils parlent, ils attirent l'attention quand ce sont des voix si fortes, puis s'ils décident qu'ils ne veulent pas travailler, c'est une petite bataille plus forte. Avec une 3e année, tu dis: Tu te mets dans ton travail, les élèves de la 6e, eux, ils disent: Pourquoi? Ça ne nous tente pas de travailler," surtout si tu n'as pas le support des parents.

The diversity of pedagogical styles within Red Cedar School was an issue for Rachel. She attributed the decrease in student achievement to the inconsistencies between teaching styles as students were promoted from one year level to another. She strongly felt that unless the school a whole adopted a particular set of teaching styles, to promote students from a loosely-structured class to a highly structured one was a great disservice to the children and did not adequately prepare them to meet the exigencies of the program, as evaluated by the province or the local district.

As at Schools B and C, French Immersion teachers at Red Cedar School were concerned with providing students with rich and meaningful learning experiences, especially given the learning and teaching of French in a minority context. They too felt strongly about language modeling, but more teachers here questioned the role of the teacher as an ambassador of the French culture. There seemed to be a lack of agreement as to what consisted of an appropriate teaching of the Francophone culture to Anglo-Albertan students learning French in a minority situation. The wide range of teaching philosophies and varied educational and cultural backgrounds at Red Cedar School seemed to contribute to a certain loss in cohesion among teachers of French Immersion programming.

Cross-Site Analysis

Participants at all three schools raised very similar pedagogical issues, and most of these were rooted in the fact that they had to teach in French in an English majority context. Many of them supported strong language modelling. A number of them were concerned about the caliber of some of their colleagues' French language skills. All were concerned with an apparent decrease in motivation in learning in French on the part of their French Immersion students and of language "plateauing" as they progressed from one year level to the other. Several of them believed their students did not have enough vocabulary to match the sophistication of their thought processes, and that this was frustrating to all concerned. Some were able to express what made their teaching practice unique by pointing out several of the differences between teaching in students' first or second language. One major difference was that French Immersion students came to school with no previous experience in the French language or the French culture. Because of this, they had no frame of reference to help them to contextualize and understand what their teachers were saying.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, REFLECTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study was to explore how French Immersion teachers at three school sites, one dual-track school and two multi-track schools, within a particular school district in the province of Alberta interact to understand and improve their teaching practice in second language pedagogy. The specific research questions addressed in the study were the following:

1. How do French Immersion teachers develop professionally in a dual or multi-track school in Alberta?
2. How do French Immersion teachers interact amongst themselves in a dual or multi-track school in Alberta?
3. How do French Immersion teachers interact with others in a dual or multi-track school in Alberta?
4. What are the salient issues identified by French Immersion teachers in relation to their work?
5. What circumstances or policies encourage or hinder the possible interaction(s) in questions 2 and 3?

Results from the study include answers to these.

Research Design

In order to increase understanding of the subjective realities of the experiences of French Immersion teachers of dual and multi-track schools in Alberta, the design of the study was based on naturalistic inquiry.

The on-site study was conducted at three elementary schools within one particular school district in Alberta, each of which offered French Immersion programming from Kindergarten to Year 6 levels.

Sites consisted of one dual-track school, Yellow Ash School, which offered both French Immersion and regular English programming, and two multi-track schools, Blue Spruce and Red Cedar, that housed both these programs in addition to another bilingual

program in a third language. To preserve the anonymity of these schools, the language of the bilingual program is not disclosed. Each school which took part in this study was administered by an Anglophone principal, with little or no knowledge of French. A French-speaking vice-principal was also placed in one of the multi-track schools and the dual-track school. An English-speaking vice-principal worked at the other multi-track school. In addition to formal leadership, both multi-track schools identified an informal teacher-leader in the area of French Immersion programming. At the dual-track school, the vice-principal had once been considered the informal teacher-leader. At each of the schools studied, seven or eight French Immersion teachers in addition to the three principals, voluntarily participated in this study, bringing the number of participants to a total of 26. Due to time constraints, only the vice-principal at Yellow Ash School, the dual-track school, was interviewed formally. Of the 23 teachers interviewed, only three chose to partially or fully communicate in the English language, despite their knowledge of French.

Two-week blocks were spent in each of the three schools in the fall of 1990, and follow-ups in the form of one-week block visits were also made at each site in the spring of 1991.

One of the main data collection techniques was the semi-structured interview, with the research questions serving as an interview guide. The format of the interview consisted of open-ended questions in order to avoid limiting participants' responses. In the case of two schools, a short questionnaire filled out by French Immersion teachers before the formal interview date was also used, and often served as a springboard to conversation at the start of an interview. The questionnaire was dropped in Blue Spruce School, because some teachers felt uncomfortable with disclosing some information on paper outside the realm of a face-to-face interview. Interviews were taped, transcribed, and returned to participants for accuracy of information.

The other main data collection technique was that of non-participant observation, which was documented through the use of field notes. Non-participant observation occurred mostly in the staff room and hallways, and sometimes in the classrooms when the researcher was invited.

The analysis of the data collected by way of interview or observation techniques was by means of content analysis. Transcripts were color-coded, according to school and participant . Through a systematic cutting and pasting method devised by the researcher, categories and sub-categories emerging from the data were recorded and filed on index cards. Afterwards, themes representing underlying messages which were common to French Immersion teachers' experiences within and across each of the three school sites were identified.

To ensure trustworthiness of the data analysis, I resorted to methods that would justify credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as recommended by Guba and Lincoln (1991, 1985, 1982, 1981) in their articles on naturalistic inquiry.

Summary of Major Findings

Administrative and Leadership Issues

Many participants at all three sites were concerned with an apparent lack of commitment to, and a perceived lack of understanding of, French Immersion programming on the part of district senior administrators and some school-based administrators. Frequent mention was made of a lack of human and/or physical resources.

Administrative and Leadership Issues: Yellow Ash School

The main administrative and leadership issues which emerged from the data were concerned with the perceived lack of belief in and understanding of French Immersion programming on the part of the district and school level administrators. To some teachers, the program was tolerated simply because of parental demands. The perceived lack of belief coupled with the perceived lack of understanding was felt to be reflected in

the implementation of both the school and the French Immersion program at Yellow Ash School. To some teachers, the former school administrators' lack of knowledge of French Immersion programming needs was apparent in the hiring of personnel, and in the lack of identification and coordination of French Immersion classroom and library resources. Of concern to some participants was the need for teachers to develop their own teaching materials, the dependency on gifts from parents to build up the French Immersion library, and the lack of resources to serve special needs students within the French Immersion program. Teachers expressed a need for administrative support in terms of physical and human resources. This section also illustrates how a classroom teacher, Francine, made the transition from a position of informal to formal leadership, in the absence of such support.

Administrative and Leadership Issues: Blue Spruce School

Administrative and leadership issues discussed at Blue Spruce School revolved around the need to have access to an increased quantity and quality of French Immersion district consulting services. Some participants attributed the non-availability or non-allocation of monies, the minority status of French Immersion programming within this particular district, the limited availability of French Immersion specialists in contrast to generalists, and the relative newness of the program. Many participants also spoke at length about the importance of having at least one member of the administrative team speak in French in order to take part in a meaningful sharing of professional knowledge. Unquestioned school-wide French cultural activities, undisputed requests for resources, language modeling vis-à-vis students, an understanding of what was happening in the French Immersion classroom, and increased understanding of teachers' personal/professional problems were all seen as advantages of having a vice-principal who spoke French and a pro-second language principal who had made concrete efforts to learn the target language. Some teachers also stressed the importance of give and take and of trust when sharing professional knowledge or providing assistance to each other.

Administrative and Leadership Issues: Red Cedar School

The perceived attitude of the school administrators toward French and their knowledge of the second language emerged as issues of concern to some teachers at Red Cedar School. Advantages of having one French-speaking member of the administrative team were that "it would give importance to French Immersion, that "it would support participants' teaching," that it would contribute to "a sense of community and of family," and that Anglophone administrators "would not have to rely so heavily on informal teachers." Data analysis also revealed that there was a principal-felt "lack of central leadership" on the part of senior administrators and a teacher-felt "lack of direction" at the "pedagogical level" on the part of the principal. Although collegiality and informal leadership were viewed as "interesting," some teachers felt that "it did not replace instructional leadership." It was also found that instances of collegiality were contingent upon many factors, such as a concern for "an equal partnership," time, teaching levels, teacher personalities, teaching styles, perceptions of teacher language and pedagogical competencies, varied definitions of collaborative work, teacher ability to juggle professional responsibilities, expectations of student behavior and achievement, teacher ability to share physical space, and others.

Political Issues

The school, district, provincial and Canadian political contexts appeared to have far-reaching implications in the level of teacher interactions in dual and multi-track schools, especially at Yellow Ash School.

Political Issues: Yellow Ash School

Irrespective of their mother tongue, the question of speaking in French freely in the staff room was an important one to many participants. However, the level of concern in regard to this issue varied greatly from one participant to another. At Yellow Ash School, there was a strong expectation that French Immersion teachers not communicate in French in the presence of some of their unilingual Anglophone colleagues "out of

respect" on the one hand, and to avoid conflict on the other hand. Some French Immersion teachers felt that they could not express their views, political or otherwise, openly and opted "to remain neutral," "not to rock the boat," and "to keep quiet," due to differing ideologies or ways of looking at the world. Of concern to these teachers was the uncertainty of the Canadian political future as it could adversely affect the fate of French Immersion programming across the country. Another emerging issue was that of perceived fairness vis-à-vis the allocation of classroom and library resources between the two programs within this dual-track school.

Political Issues: Blue Spruce School

To a number of participants at Blue Spruce School, the matter of the language spoken in the staff room was one of "discretion," and appeared to cause little conflict among teachers. This may have been due to the coexistence of three language programs within the school; a number of teachers felt the combination of an English, French Immersion and another language bilingual program was conducive to a healthy work environment, as there seemed to be an open-mindedness toward second and third language learning. However, some French Immersion teachers admitted that there was a tendency to make concessions to the majority program (i. e., English), in terms of educational resources. Canada's socio-political turmoil caused some teachers to worry about the possible extinction of French Immersion programs.

Political Issues: Red Cedar School

Unlike some other schools, Red Cedar School had not established a set policy on the language(s) to be spoken in the staff room. Rather, the language of use was a question of diplomacy left to the staff members' discretion. For some French Immersion teachers at Red Cedar School, the issue was not so much which language to speak in the staff room, but rather the language of use between French Immersion teachers in the hallways, especially in the presence of their students. Difficulties in teaching in a minority situation were expressed by a number of participants. Students' political

environment was also believed to have some negative influences on their motivation level and their readiness/ability to learn French. Problems about having to "run after materials" were also expressed by a number of teachers, and there was a perception that the other language bilingual program was favored by the school administrators over the French Immersion one.

Cultural Issues

There was a wide range of cultural and educational backgrounds among the 26 participants, which strongly affected how they related to French as a language and to French as a culture. French Immersion teachers' identification with various French sub-cultural groups also influenced how they interacted with each other, and others, on both a personal and professional level.

Cultural Issues: Yellow Ash School

Several teachers at Yellow Ash School spoke about what it meant for them to speak French and/or to be French. The also shared some of the difficulties and challenges they faced when learning a second language and getting acculturated into Alberta's society. Their cultural and educational backgrounds on the one hand, and their remembrances of their own acquisition of a second language and acculturation to this province on the other hand, seemed to have strongly influenced their beliefs about their work as teachers (e. g., teaching styles, expectations of student behavior and achievement).

Cultural Issues: Blue Spruce School

French Immersion teachers at Blue Spruce School did not seem as preoccupied with issues stemming from one's educational background and culture as those from the other schools. One teacher did speak though about one's unconscious transmission of culture through classroom delivery, and another talked about the influence of the Québec culture, as opposed to her Franco-Albertan one, in her teaching.

Cultural Issues: Red Cedar School

The notion of culture emerged as a predominant category during discussions with teachers and the principal of Red Cedar School. Its complexity lay in that its definitions and meanings were as varied as each participant. These seemed to be contingent upon the participants' individual, as opposed to collective, relationships with the culture with which they identified the most, i.e., their culture of origin, be it French-speaking, English-speaking, or any other.

More specifically, a number of teachers not only seemed to define themselves by their cultural origins, but also by their sub-cultural origins. In other words, some teachers distinctly saw themselves as Franco-Albertan, Franco-Ontarian, Québécois(es), etc., rather than simply as French-Canadian, for example. The sub-culture with which they identified appeared to have clearly shaped their personal selves and influenced the ways in which they perceived themselves and others who belonged or did not belong to their sub-cultural group.

Furthermore, not only did their sub-cultural origins influence how they saw themselves as individuals, but they also helped shape their teaching selves with respect to philosophies, approaches/styles and strategies, and perhaps more importantly in the context of multi-track schools, their pedagogical choices and priorities. Seemingly, these pedagogical choices and priorities were not always compatible with those of their colleagues who may have belonged to other French-speaking sub-cultural groups or to English-speaking ones. An understanding of this reality could explain the potential for conflicts between immersion teachers of various French-speaking sub-cultural groups as well as between immersion and non-immersion teachers.

Pedagogical Issues

There were several commonalties between pedagogical issues raised at all three schools. Most stemmed from having to teach French in a English majority context. This

affected the availability of physical and human resources, and teachers' interpretations and expectations of what teaching French, as a language or/and a culture, was all about.

Pedagogical Issues: Yellow Ash School

At Yellow Ash School, it was felt that students' French language skills were largely dependent upon teachers's determination to speak in French and to demand the same of their students on the one hand, and upon the student's degree of personal will to do so, on the other hand. It was believed that speaking French as much as possible would help in the maintenance and improvement of teachers' skills and in the provision of the best language model possible for students. It followed then that the level of mastery and the level of use of teachers' French language skills were of concern to a number of teachers who perceived that some of their colleagues did not speak French well enough nor made sufficient use of it. Hence, these teachers were seen as contributing to the lowering of French language standards within the classroom and the school.

Also of concern to French Immersion teachers was an apparent decrease in motivation on the part of students wanting to learn in French, which teachers attempted to explain by a combination of factors both external and internal to the school environment.

External factors were French Immersion students' growing awareness of their cultural identities as Anglo-Albertans, their need to identify with peers from their own social environment, their uncertainty as to the reasons for their placement in French Immersion programming, their inability to fully realize its long-term benefits, their rebelling against the perceived greater requirements and demands of this program, as compared to English programming, and their inability to convey their thoughts and feelings at their growing cognitive level, especially if these were inspired by real experiences lived in English, with a limited concrete vocabulary.

Internal factors were the loose interpretation of percentage of classroom instruction time to be spent in French, the administrative preoccupation with timetabling and teacher expertise instead of language competencies, the inadequacy of instructional

materials in core subject areas, such as Social Studies and Science, for teachers and students alike, and the requirements of provincial and district achievement tests, i. e., higher levels of thinking under time constraints.

Differences between French Immersion and English programming pedagogy became apparent at Yellow Ash School. They revolved around the issue of physical and human resource inadequacy for French Immersion teachers: the need to create their own materials, a time-consuming activity, requiring additional time and preparation outside school hours, and contributing to pressure and fatigue. They were also concerned with the fact that students' language [and cultural] knowledge could not be taking for granted at anytime. Because of this, they had to listen to their students attentively at all times, to look for language content and form together. They had to get to know their students better to try to grasp the meaning of what they said in French, and had to be willing to incorporate spontaneous lessons pertaining to the use of conventions, even during the teaching of subject areas other than Language Arts. Some teachers spoke about the additional time requirements in having to deal with French Immersion parents, who, although very supportive of the program, needed constant reassurance that they had made the right choice in placing their child[ren] in it, and that their offspring were learning to their maximum potential. If not, the question of student transfers from English to French programming became an issue.

Pedagogical Issues: Blue Spruce School

A number of French Immersion teachers at Blue Spruce School saw as an essential part of their role the creation of a positive classroom climate to promote and enhance students' self-confidence in learning in French. Since the French Immersion teachers were their students' only contact with French, of importance to them was the need for the establishment of a strong emotional link between their students and themselves. A number of teachers felt that a strong teacher-student rapport would allow them to "dig" further into each child for meaningful experiences, as to be able to make

implicit or explicit connections between the students' own lived experiences and the knowledge matter to be taught, especially given the "artificial" or "secondary" nature of the Anglo-Albertan student's French Immersion world.

Pedagogical issues French Immersion teachers at Blue Spruce School identified were the influence of the Anglo-American "pop culture"; the language in which to select library books which dealt with affective issues or personal values, such as divorce, death, etc.; the need to address students' language "plateauing" and lack of affective/emotional vocabulary in the French language, to help them talk about matters of a "deeper/more profound," "more abstract" and "more emotional" nature, while at the same time recognizing that the acquisition of knowledge itself was becoming of greater concern to them than the acquisition of a second language; the need to involve students in real situations of communication; and student transfers from one program to another.

Some teachers considered as another essential part of their role as teachers the promotion of the French language and culture within the classroom and the school. In other words, they viewed themselves as "ambassadors" of the French language and culture. A number of them expected of each other that they be[come] language models for their students, and further, a few even believed that they should project the image of Francophone within the school to preserve the integrity of the French language and culture.

Pedagogical Issues: Red Cedar School

A number of participants from Red Cedar School spoke about the difficulty in balancing the teaching of French as a language on the one hand, and French as a culture on the other hand. Some wondered how French Immersion students who were not descendants of a Franco-Albertan heritage could identify with the various interpretations of French culture taught in the school. There appeared to be a lack of agreement among French Immersion teachers as to the definition of a Francophone culture. First, some saw culture as separate from language, while others viewed both as intrinsically linked.

Second, some saw culture as cultural folklore limited to a certain place and time; others viewed it as being more than that, and as extending beyond a certain time and place, and thus, as being in constant evolution. Because French Immersion teachers were the sole models of the language and transmitters of the culture, some made a conscious effort to attempt to keep in touch with the "modern" French language and culture, so as to give their students a sense that French was still alive today, i. e., that it was not, in fact, an ancient language or culture, and that there was indeed a purpose in learning it. Again, there was a concern with the level of mastery of the target language on the part of French Immersion colleagues, because of pedagogical implications.

A number of participants addressed the "enormous differences" between teaching immersion, as opposed to first language programs. They were: the need to exhibit a warm and human approach to make the child feel secure and to establish a climate conducive to learning, especially in the beginning years when the student was unfamiliar with the language of instruction; the need for increased patience due to constant repetition; the need to compensate for the student's lack of language and/or cultural baggage, i. e., prior knowledge in French; the need for visual aids since the student was not in the "right" physical environment to learn French; the need to address the problem of having student's level of cognitive understanding greater than the level of comprehension in the French language; the presence of books which are "too babyish" in content or too difficult in language level; the need to develop or purchase one's own teaching support materials, such manipulatives, games, records, etc.; the need to translate resources and/or to adapt them to meet their students' needs; the need to reassure parents that students should remain in French Immersion programming; the importance of motivating students through a student-centered approach or through the use of "fun" strategies, especially upon their realization that they were probably working harder than their English counterparts; and the need to address student transfers.

Underlying Themes

As data collection progressed, it became apparent that there existed some common underlying themes within and across all three sites, even though one of them was a dual-track school and the other two were multi-track schools. These were: *marginalization*, *vulnerability*, *potential for conflict*, and *compromise*.

Marginalization

The presence of French Immersion programming within a predominantly English-speaking school seemed to have carried with it a sense of marginalization for many within the school community: Anglophone administrators, French-speaking administrators, French Immersion students, English program students, French Immersion parents, English-speaking teachers and especially French Immersion teachers.

In the case of Anglophone principals, increased decentralization of French Immersion programming responsibilities (i. e., coordination of the latest French Language Arts program, advertising of French Immersion programs, etc.), a perceived "lack of central leadership," decreased second language services to local schools, and budgetary compressions seemed to contribute to a sense of marginalization of the French Immersion program.

Although Principal Benjamin had a basic understanding of the French language, he, along with Principals Al and Clark, had to rely upon French-speaking vice-principals and/or designated informal teacher-leaders to assist them with matters of communication in French (e. g., correspondence, telephone calls, etc.), student academic progress and student transfers from French Immersion to English classes, confirmation of student-teacher and substitute-teachers' French language competencies, and curricula developments, etc. In this sense, Anglophone principals were on the fringe of what was happening in the French Immersion milieu, and had to depend on other people's knowledge of the French language and of the French Immersion program and its developments in order to be able to make decisions which would affect their own schools.

In other words, they could not make judgments about the program for which they were responsible on first-hand knowledge and/or experience.

As for French-speaking administrators, although they had indeed an understanding and knowledge of the French language and French Immersion program, some like Francine felt that they had to downplay their skills and competencies acquired in French Immersion and promote those gained through involvement in English programming, to be considered on an equal footing with their non-immersion peers. In this way, they felt marginalized from their non-immersion colleagues, even though they essentially possessed similar qualifications. They also felt pressured to give the appearance of equal treatment when making decisions concerning the allocation and purchase of French Immersion resources, although differing programs [i. e., English, French Immersion, other] may have presented distinct needs. Even some English-speaking librarians at Yellow Ash School had recognized library needs of French Immersion teachers and students, and had felt it necessary to communicate these to Francine in a covert way.

Conversely, some English-speaking teachers felt marginalized because they believed that French Immersion teachers were given extra attention, funds or resources for their programs. At the same time, because they could not understand the French language, they felt excluded from French conversations among French Immersion teachers, or again when written messages on the staff room board or verbal messages given over the intercom were transmitted in French.

Some students who were transferred from French Immersion to English programming were somewhat marginalized because they were perceived by English program teachers as "having been dumped on them." At the same time, some students who were not registered in the French Immersion program felt that they not part of "something special."

As for French Immersion students, they had to come to terms with learning a second language for which they saw little use or immediate rewards in the near future. In many cases, they were separated from a number of their English-speaking friends in order to pursue their studies in French. Often, they were bused to schools located outside of the local communities to which they belonged. At school, they were quasi-immersed in a world other than their own real world, one that some teachers referred to as "artificial" or "secondary," since all of their meaningful interactions outside of the classroom occurred in English. Language modeling was also limited to classroom instruction and interactions, except where French was accepted as a politically correct language permitted to be spoken in more "public" places.

French Immersion parents felt marginalized in that they were not cognizant of the French language and were therefore limited in the quantity and quality of assistance or concrete support they wished to give their children. They also had to rely heavily on the judgment of their children's teachers as to the extent they were succeeding or coping in the program. They often were in need of constant reassurance that they had made the right decision in placing them in immersion.

Given the socio-politico-cultural milieu of the province of Alberta, Francophone and Francophile teachers clearly needed to interact with French-speaking people in and outside the school setting in order to maintain or perfect their French language skills and to keep in touch with the latest developments in the world of French entertainment (films, books, compact discs, etc.) and French Immersion programming. Nevertheless, French Immersion teachers felt varying degrees of pressure to communicate and share working knowledge in English, as speaking French in the staff room or hallway was seen as "impolite" in the presence of as few as one non-French-speaking colleague.

As Principal Benjamin had clearly indicated, in as much as possible, the particular school district to which all three schools studied belonged had as its practice to try to maintain the French Immersion programming population in a minority situation in

proportion to its "regular" English programming population; therefore, some French Immersion teachers perceived the district as being "non-committed" to the program in which they worked. Thus, some "felt unwanted" and needed to "feel [administrative and political] support" from senior and school administrators and the general public at large.

Some French Immersion teachers felt increasingly isolated because they could not turn to their immediate superordinates for instructional leadership, as often these were not cognizant of the French language. At all three school sites, teacher evaluation was done by Anglophone principals for summative rather than formative purposes; therefore, teachers got little in-depth feedback about what was actually going on in their classrooms, in terms of instruction. Because Anglophone principals could not converse in French and a number of Francophone teachers could not express themselves well in English, some felt that they could not relate to their principal on an "emotional level" and perceived a lack of comprehension on his or her part toward their professional/personal problems.

Hence, it appeared that many within the school community did feel somewhat marginalized in the presence French Immersion programming, whether they be Anglophone administrators, French-speaking administrators, French Immersion students, English program students, French Immersion parents, English-speaking teachers and especially French Immersion teachers.

In her study of the experiences of three French Immersion female teachers in Calgary, Alberta, Gagné (1991) described the "realistic vision," as opposed to the "idealistic vision", of French as a language of use and as a language of teaching in dual-track schools. She observed that the "social forces" of the English majority or culture exerted control upon the language of use and of teaching within both the classroom and the staff room. Limiting teachers in their use of the French language within the classroom and the staff room appeared to accentuate differences between French and English. Participants felt they had to comply ("become molded") to the demands of the

more powerful of the two forces or societal classes, i. e., English, by switching from the French to the English language in the staff room. The staff room became a "social representation of the linguistic divisions" present in the schools and contributed to a "real/lived individual malaise (uneasiness)" in her participants.

Thus, this sense of marginalization, of feeling alienated, of being on the fringe of things or of not feeling as a part of the group, made some of these members of the school community feel more vulnerable, which leads to the discussion of the next theme: vulnerability.

Vulnerability

The instability of the Canadian political climate, the decrease in funds toward education at all levels — local, provincial and federal and the decrease in French Immersion student enrollment within this district and the province all contributed to a feeling of uncertainty about the future of French Immersion programming in all three schools studied. Therefore, of concern to many French Immersion teachers was the fate of second language education, their program and their jobs. Of course, this particular situation was more likely to place them in a disadvantaged position, i. e., in one of vulnerability. Potential job losses put aside, it made them wonder about whether what they did was worth their trouble or even important to parents and students anymore.

Since a number of French Immersion teachers who worked at the three sites studied had come from the province of Québec, where French was clearly in the majority, many teachers were vulnerable to the Anglo-Saxon assimilation. Although most, but not all, of these teachers were getting acculturated to the Albertan milieu, some feared eventual assimilation of their culture and of their language. This was especially true for people who had come from Québec on their own and did not have immediate family here to reinforce their first language and culture.

Conversely, since many of them had little or no knowledge of the English language upon their arrival to Alberta, they were likely not to fully understand, or, in

turn, be fully understood by English-speaking people, namely their Anglophone principals, English-speaking colleagues, and French Immersion parents. This situation decreased communication and was more apt to lead to misunderstandings between English-speaking administrators, parents and teachers on the one hand, and unilingual French teachers on the other hand, putting once again all parties involved in a position of vulnerability.

This sense of vulnerability was further heightened when these French Immersion teachers were assigned to teach English Language Arts. In this case, they had to struggle not only to learn the language, but also to locate and understand materials from which to teach. In a sense their teaching competence and skills were also at stake, putting them once again at a disadvantaged position.

Except in Blue Spruce School, which was said to "be rich in resources," the lack of physical resources in the French Immersion programs at Yellow Ash School and Red Cedar School were somewhat problematic, although less so now than in past years. However, all three schools seemed to have been affected by the decrease in support from district second language consulting services. The need for increased resources and support made French Immersion teachers more vulnerable to budgetary compressions and cuts.

Positions of vulnerability more often than not increased people's sensitivities vis-à-vis issues such as languages spoken in the staff room, resource allocation, etc., and therefore held within them the potential for conflict, discussed next.

Potential for Conflict

The perception of programs as not being treated equally in terms of resource allocation was a theme that was predominant in both Yellow Ash School and Red Cedar School. A tug-of-war appeared to be occurring between the English and French Immersion program at Yellow Ash School and between the French Immersion and other bilingual program at Red Cedar School. Since the focus of Principal Benjamin had been

on "building the school library up" in all three language programs at Blue Spruce School, as attested by a number of French Immersion teachers, the potential for conflict between programs seemed to have been minimal in terms of resource allocation as compared to Yellow Ash School and Red Cedar School.

In all three schools, several teachers felt that the potential for conflict would be further reduced if political issues such as Meech Lake were not discussed openly in the staff room. Others preferred "not rock the boat" by "keep[ing] quiet" on other internal school issues, which may have been deemed controversial, because "problems were not seen in the same way" by English-speaking teachers and administrators. It also became apparent that speaking English in the presence of as few as one non-English-speaking colleague in the staff room greatly diminished the risk of conflict among teachers of any of the language programs offered at each school.

There existed within each school a potential for conflict among French Immersion teachers themselves, due to their differences in second language teaching philosophies and in their expectations of each other as language models, etc. Although it was present at each school site, it was more deeply expressed at Red Cedar School due to the various sub-cultural identities and affiliations to which Francophone teachers felt they belonged.

To avoid conflict, it was a number of French Immersion teachers' practice at each of the sites studied to make compromises.

Compromise

Without exception, the study clearly showed that all three schools studied within this particular district acquiesced where the English majority ruled. For example, each school housing a French Immersion program was asked to keep its French Immersion enrollment lower than that of the English program.

At the district level, there were few second language consultants, who were readily available to French Immersion teachers, and these were also expected to "be

experts" in all fields taught within the program of studies, as opposed to English program consultants, who worked as specialists in only one specific subject area or field.

A number of teachers at each school site felt that French Immersion programming within their district was compromised when a former senior administrator and a former second language consultant who were well known for their dedication to French Immersion programming were not replaced with people of the same caliber.

At the school level, when given the choice to buy a given resource in one language or the other, it was often purchased in English instead of in one of the other languages offered at the school. This was because it was more cost-effective, as it reached a greater number of students. Another reason for this was that when French Immersion students needed to consult books on questions pertaining to personal values, or issues such as death, divorce, etc., they were more likely to sign out one that was in the English language because they were living those experiences in English and could discuss them with English-speaking adults in their real world, as opposed to the "artificial" or "secondary world" of their French Immersion classroom. Here, the opportunity for growth in French language skills was sacrificed for the sake of addressing French Immersion students' emotional needs.

When doing research, teachers also found themselves compromising by letting their students read or write in English instead of French, because of the lack of resources in Social Studies and Science in the French language. They also let students do this especially at the Year 6 level because they knew students would be given the choice to answer provincial and/or district achievement tests in French or in English.

At all three schools, some teachers felt that the integrity of the French language was threatened because of the limited language competencies of certain French Immersion colleagues. Also those teachers did not make an effort to communicate with French Immersion teachers or other Francophone support staff in French in the presence of their students. In doing so, they unnecessarily compromised their teaching in that they

temporarily gave up their principles about second language pedagogy by giving students the impression that French was not that important after all and that meaningful communication took place in English.

Also at all sites, French Immersion teachers who wanted to maintain and/or perfect their French skills, especially by communicating with others at an adult level, felt they must restrain from doing so in the presence of their non-French-speaking colleagues in order to avoid conflict. Having to speak in English instead of French compromised the level of French skills, especially if they did not have the opportunity to readily communicate in French at home or outside of the school environment. For some, school was the only place where they could practice their French skills.

Reflections Based on Related Literature

Related literature identified educational leadership as characteristic of effective schools. It also questioned the principal's ability to lead in the absence of knowledge and skill in the area of instruction. It maintained that principals spent little time on instructional leadership, and that, in fact, they did not often work on classroom teaching and learning with teachers. Findings in this study showed that Principals Al and Clark had little or no knowledge or skill in the French language, and all three principals had little or no skill in the area of French Immersion teaching and learning. A number of teachers at all sites indicated that they received minimal feedback from their principals as to what was actually going on in their classrooms. Purposes of evaluation by all principals were strictly bureaucratic. Teacher, student and program needs and outcomes were often perceived to go unnoticed, thus contributing to teacher isolation. Teacher isolation, according to the related literature, mitigates against norms of collegiality.

The related literature suggested that norms of collegiality, norms of achievement, and norms of continuous improvement are characteristic of effective schools. Norms of collegiality were said to be a combination of expectations of cooperation, exchange, and provision of assistance, when solicited, and of joint decision-making about school-wide

philosophy, objectives, policies and programs between principals and teachers. In all three schools studied, teachers did not approach their principals for assistance about instructional matters, but instead, went to their French-speaking vice-principals or informal teacher-leaders. In some cases, they made contact with a district second language consultant. The literature also stated that collegiality was to be based upon trust. The question of trust became problematic since a number of participants did not speak English fluently nor did they feel that they could be understood at an emotional/psychological level by their Anglophone principals.

Teachers did not feel empowered when principals decentralized their decision-making to their vice-principals or informal teacher-leaders, but rather felt that they were left to their own means. They knew that principals did not share their responsibilities primarily because of their confidence in the abilities of French Immersion teachers to make appropriate decisions related to the program or to give them an increased sense of ownership in matters that affected them directly. Rather, in most cases, principals delegated their responsibilities because they had no choice, given their lack of knowledge of the French language and/or program. At Blue Spruce School, however, Principal Benjamin had indeed made an effort to learn the target language, and did partake in meetings restricted to French Immersion teachers to discuss school-wide French cultural activities. At Red Cedar School, it was those who were looking for a sense of direction for their program who implemented regular monthly meetings for French Immersion teachers, in an attempt to establish a mission or set of priorities and to discuss specific teaching practices.

Some of the problems addressed by the related literature vis-à-vis informal teacher-leaders were their lack of bureaucratic authority, the conflict between the administrator and teacher-leader roles, the amount of responsibility, and the lack of release time. All of these problems were also outlined in one way or another in the findings of this study. In all three schools, some teachers appreciated the concept of

informal leadership but were clear in stating that it did not replace instructional leadership on the part of the principal.

Where the principals and/or informal teacher-leaders could not provide solicited assistance, norms of continuous improvement could become particularly important. Despite their lack of knowledge of the French language and/or French Immersion instruction and learning, Anglophone principals could play a major role in cultivating and developing their teachers. Related literature maintained that most professional development activities were limited to two to four day workshops per year, with little or no follow-up. It also identified some factors linked to the failure of professional development as a lack of teacher control and a mismatch between professional development goals and teachers' intents and value systems. Probably because they belonged to the same school district, all three schools studied had similar professional development implementation policies, in terms of the provision of time and resources toward professional development activities. These were also limited to two or four-day workshops. However, in Blue Spruce School, it was determined that these would focus around school-wide priorities. This should have generated an increased level of motivation and sense of cohesion among teachers across all three programs at Blue Spruce School. However, to a number of participants, the fact that these professional activities were given in English did not take into account French Immersion teachers' psychological needs. Because some could not understand nor speak English satisfactorily, they did not possess a common professional language in which to share their working knowledge with their English-speaking colleagues, and in most instances, even their French-speaking colleagues, since the expectation was that English be the common language spoken among teachers. In addition, most speakers who led these professional development activities did not take into consideration the French Immersion program needs, such as the student's level of vocabulary, access to materials, such as books, filmstrips, videos, etc. For the most part, these presenters were probably not

aware of the differences between French Immersion and English programming, or they were more concerned with addressing the needs of the larger English majority in the audience.

The lack of knowledge of the English language then was a real problem in that it restricted some French Immersion teachers' ability to understand the pedagogical issues discussed, as well as their ability to interact with their colleagues, English or French, during or after the professional development activity. Similarly to the related literature, too little interaction among teachers made it difficult for teachers across programs in a dual or multi-track schools to develop a strong binding organizational culture. These factors, combined with the varied cultural backgrounds and political beliefs among teachers in dual or multi-track schools, would tend to inhibit them from expressing their views, as they would not feel emotionally and intellectually secure in their environment, thereby reducing the opportunity for a shared or common vision or values among school personnel.

The literature maintained that without strong leadership and institutional support in the form of time, and physical and human resources, important instructional decisions were left to the mercy of those [teachers and/or principals] who may not have the proper level of knowledge or commitment to do so. This is where the danger lay in French Immersion programming in a dual or multi-track school in Alberta. That is why French Immersion teachers need to strengthen their professional autonomy to make informed instructional decisions by increasing their body of knowledge about second language pedagogy in general, and French Immersion teaching and learning in particular.

In doing so, French Immersion teachers could, in the absence of strong educational leadership, ensure higher norms of student achievement, and help to prevent the occurrence of language "plateauing" or "fossilization," especially in Year 4 to 6 levels, and in increasing students' level of motivation in learning a minority language in a majority situation.

Personal Reflections

In relation to French Immersion programming, Canada's and Alberta's present political contexts cannot be overlooked. Since the failure of the *Meech Lake Accord* in 1991 and the rise in power of new political parties such as the *Reform Party* and the *Bloc Québécois*, the changing nature of Canadians' relationship with French and English cultures continues to frame and reframe the question of the future of French Immersion programming. Canadian opinion seems to have hardened toward the rights of language and cultural minority groups. In fact, since the start of this study in the fall of 1990, both the province of Alberta and the particular district studied in this research have witnessed a considerable drop in French Immersion student enrolment.

It is difficult for district and school administrators to disengage their attention from the surrounding socio-political and economic realities when making decisions about French Immersion programming, irrespective of their personal beliefs in this alternate form of education. This focus prevents them from recognizing and addressing the unique set of pedagogical issues of French Immersion programming. However, to be perceived as being committed to it by French Immersion teachers, they must begin to recognize that French Immersion teaching is indeed distinct from first language teaching. This brings about the issue of equity among programs within dual and multi-track schools. The teaching of French Immersion in an Anglo-Albertan context offers a set of differing teacher and students needs and problems, as compared to English programming, and must be addressed in this light. Until this is understood by administrators, French Immersion needs and problems will continue to be minimized and French Immersion teachers will feel increasingly isolated.

Those who believe in French Immersion programming may get a feeling of discouragement or a sense of powerlessness when faced with the picture emerging from the study of French Immersion programs in dual and multi-track schools. However, beyond the marginalization, vulnerability, potential for conflict and compromise, lies a

promise of transformation. This sense of transformation was exemplified in some participants, such as Denis and Elise, and in some of the students described by Francine. These teachers spoke of the presence of positive attitudes toward French as being more prevalent in their students than in their colleagues. That is where our hope must rest: in the hands of our children, who, in turn, will influence our future generations. As a recipient of the International Banner of Peace, Rajinder Singh (1993) wrote:

> *Transformed individuals transform families;*
> *transformed families transform communities;*
> *transformed communities transform nations;*
> *transformed nations transform the world.*
> *A transformed world transforms the cosmos.* (p. 30)

Implications for Practice

The findings of this study have generated a number of implications for practice that would support French Immersion teachers in their need to interact with others, and to understand and improve upon their teaching practice in second language pedagogy.

Findings showed that French Immersion teachers tended to participate in professional development activities when they were specific to French Immersion teaching and when they took place in French. Therefore, professional development activities for French Immersion would be more beneficial to them if they were better suited to their language and pedagogical needs, occurred on an ongoing basis, and included follow-up sessions.

French Immersion teachers were more likely to interact among themselves when they respected each other's French language skills and pedagogical skills. They also were more keen on collaborating with each other when they could agree on what it meant to teach French Immersion in Alberta. Periodic meetings among French Immersion teachers seemed to be a valuable means by which they could discuss issues that dealt directly with what they were doing in the classroom, how they did what they were doing, and why they did what they were doing. These meetings would also offer all French Immersion teachers an opportunity to hear and speak French at a more sophisticated level than that

of the classroom. This would permit them to maintain and perfect their French oral skills on a regular basis, and reduce a number of participants' fear of assimilation or loss in language skills.

Findings pointed out that French Immersion teachers were more confident in French-speaking administrators' ability to share professional knowledge with them and to make decisions that affected their classroom teaching. That is because they were seen as more approachable and understanding of their needs than administrators who were not fluent in French. Findings also revealed that administrators who did not speak in French relied heavily upon teacher-leaders in terms of providing some instructional leadership to their French Immersion teachers. However, some teachers did not view instructional leadership from teacher-leaders as aptly replacing that of a principal. Evidently, more care should be taken in the selection of French Immersion principals in terms of their attitudes toward second languages, their level of knowledge of the French language and of French Immersion pedagogical issues. Teacher-leaders should also be formally recognized for their work by being offered additional preparation time and/or an increase in salary for their added administrative responsibilities.

Results from this study revealed that there were fewer conflicts and more interactions among teachers of various programs when they did not have to compete for resources, and when these were viewed as being distributed in a fair manner. This implied that administrators who were more knowledgeable about French Immersion needs would be in a better position to make decisions about allocating resources and to justify them in a way that would be acceptable to teachers, irrespective of the program in which they taught. Findings also noted improved or increased relations between teachers of all programs in schools where no set policy about which language(s) should be spoken in the staff room was in place. Personality conflicts aside, circumstances that hindered possible interactions among French Immersion teachers themselves were cultural and/or pedagogical differences. Reasons that stifled relations between French Immersion

teachers and others were a lack of knowledge of each other's language and culture. Perhaps, when selecting French Immersion teachers, more attention should be paid to their language and pedagogical skills on the one hand, and to their cultural and educational backgrounds on the other hand. It would be helpful if out-of-province French Immersion teachers were made aware of the premise(s) of second language teaching and learning in a minority situation. Conversely, dual and multi-track school personnel should be sensitized to the acculturation process required for out-of-province French Immersion teachers. Both French Immersion and non-immersion personnel must make an effort to learn about and respect each other's cultural sensitivities. Teachers from all programs within the school would benefit from working together by means of committee work and meetings across year levels.

Other salient issues were identified in this study. One of them was that French Immersion teachers felt that school and district-level administrators did not believe in French Immersion programming, nor did they understand it. Irrespective of their personal beliefs, if district administrators are to offer French Immersion programming, they should show a commitment to it and view it as a viable alternate form of education for Anglophone students. District and school-level administrators must be informed of, and come to a realization that, French Immersion pedagogy is distinct and different from first language pedagogy involved in English programming. Therefore, their decisions should be made accordingly, and be concerned with the notion of equity rather than equality between various programs within a dual or multi-track school. There should be increased "central leadership" in terms of providing school administrators and French Immersion teachers with a sense of direction for French Immersion programming across the district. The role of second language consultants within the particular district studied should also be redefined (e. g., purposes of evaluation and/or assistance, amount of bureaucratic authority, etc.).

Implications for Research

The following implications are based upon the findings of this study, and also take into account the related literature. The field of education would continue to benefit from quantitative research (product variables), but needs increased qualitative research (process variables) about what is actually happening in the schools and classrooms in terms of student, teacher and administrator interactions. The topics listed below would most likely contribute to the body of literature on second language teaching and learning in general, and French Immersion pedagogy in particular.

1. Nature of, and language(s) of use in, in-classroom teacher-student interactions (e. g., discipline versus instruction, etc.) and their effects on norms of achievement.
2. Nature of, and language(s) used in, out-of-classroom (e. g., playground, hallways, etc.) teacher-student interactions and their effects on norms of achievement.
3. Comparisons between the effectiveness of dual or multi-track schools run by Anglophone and bilingual or multilingual principals.
4. Comparisons between the effectiveness of dual or multi-track schools and French Immersion centres.
5. Differences and/or similarities between first language teaching and French Immersion pedagogy.
6. Differences between immersion and non-immersion parents.
7. Differences between immersion and non-immersion students.
8. Meaningful professional development activities for French immersion teachers.
9. Comparisons between teacher interactions in dual or multi-track schools and French Immersion centres.

The purpose of this research was to explore the experiences of French Immersion teachers in dual and multi-track schools in Alberta, and to study how they interacted among themselves, and with others, to better understand and improve upon their teaching practice. Hopefully, this document has succeeded in shedding some light on this

question, and will contribute in some small way to the body of literature and the practice of French Immersion administering and teaching.

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APPENDIX A

le 21 octobre 1990
Bureau 148
Département d'administration scolaire
Faculté de l'éducation
Université de l'Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2G5

Chers participants,

Je vous écris cette lettre-ci en guise de présentation. Je m'appelle Nicole Lamarre. Ça fait depuis l'année scolaire 1989-90 que je suis étudiante, inscrite au programme de doctorat au département d'administration scolaire à l'Université de l'Alberta. C'est à ce titre que j'aimerais faire appel à vos expériences en tant qu'enseignants des programmes d'immersion française, et ce, dans le but de répondre aux questions principales qui font l'objet de cette étude, et dont on vous a déjà fait part.

Suite à l'achèvement de ma thèse intituléee *The Experiences of Anglophone Elementary Principals with French Immersion Programs* en 1989, je me suis intéressée à toute la question des jeux d'intéractions des enseignants d'immersion française dans les écoles à deux ou à trois voies. (N.B. Je vais faire circuler un résumé de la thèse par l'intermédiaire d'un(e) de vos collègues. Si vous désirez feuilletter la thèse en entier, je suis prête à vous en passer une copie.)

L'intérêt que je porte envers ce champ de recherches s'ensuit non seulement de certaines questions qui ont découlé de ma thèse de maîtrise, mais aussi de mes propres expériences en tant qu'enseignante en immersion française en Alberta (Grande Prairie, Wetaskiwin et Edmonton) pendant six ans, c'est-à-dire, de 1982 à 1988.

Originaire de la ville de Québec, j'ai grandi dans un milieu bilingue et biculturel, ma mère étant anglo-ontarienne et mon père franco-ontarien. Quoique j'ai fait toutes mes études, à l'exception de celles au niveau universitaire, en français, la règle, chez nous, était que mes trois soeurs et moi devions parler en anglais avec nos parents et entre nous quatre.

Présentement, j'habite avec mon ami, Mel, avec qui je sors depuis cinq ans, et avec lequel j'ai acheté une maison à Leduc en juillet dernier. Lui aussi, se trouve à être enseignant, mais d'arts plastiques, d'arts dramatiques et d'anglais. Etant né à Edmonton, il est de descendance ukrainienne et ne parle pas le français.

J'espère que cette courte lettre vous aidera à vous sentir à l'aise avec moi, et que vous n'hésiterez pas à me poser les questions qui vous préoccuperont au fur et à mesure que l'étude se déroulera.

Merci d'avoir accepté de faire partie de cette étude, et au plaisir de faire votre rencontre.

Sincèrement,

Nicole Marie Lamarre
Bureau: 492-3094 ou 492-4909
Domicile: 986-3568

APPENDIX B

Pending permission of the school superintendent,_____,

I, _____, am able and willing to participate in Nicole Lamarre's Ph. D. thesis as per her letter dated October 21, 1990.

I understand that anonymity and confidentiality of names of teachers, principals and schools will be respected during the entire study and in its publication and that I may opt out at any time for any given reason.

_____

Signature

_____

Date

APPENDIX C

ETUDE DE CAS:
JEUX D'INTÉRACTIONS DES ENSEIGNANTS D'IMMERSION FRANÇAISE DANS DES ÉCOLES À DEUX OU À TROIS VOIES

QUESTIONNAIRE-1ère PARTIE

Afin de m'aider à dépister la fréquence ainsi que le type d'interactions qui se produisent dans votre milieu de travail, il me serait utile de recevoir des réponses aussi justes que possible aux questions suivantes. De plus, notez que j'ai l'intention de poursuivre le pourquoi de vos réponses dans des entrevues individuelles ultérieures.

1. D'habitude, avec qui passez-vous vos temps libres, par exemple, à la récréation et avant et après l'école?

2. Quel(s) membres du personnel côtoyez-vous en dehors de l'école et à des occasions autres que celles subventionnées par l'école?

3. Avez-vous déjà eté en grand désaccord avec un individu quelconque, qu' importe la raison, dans votre milieu de travail?

4. Qui consultez-vous lorsque vous désirez de l'assistance dans des domaines tels que le curriculum, la méthodologie d'enseignement, la technologie audio-visuelle, l'orthopédagogie, et ainsi de suite?

5. Avez-vous déjà fourni de l'assistance à certains membres du personnel? Si oui, c'est-il arrivé souvent et dans quel(s) domaine(s)?

6. Pouvez-vous me décrire une incidence ou une situation critique qui a eu lieu dans votre milieu de travail depuis que vous y travaillé?

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE DÉMOGRAPHIQUE-2ième PARTIE

Afin de prendre connaissance de certaines données de base pertinentes à l'étude, j'apprécierais celà si vous répondiez aux questions suivantes. A la troisième question, je vous demande de choisir un pseudonyme afin d'assurer votre anonymité et le fait que vos réponses demeurent en confiance durant et après l'étude.

1. Nom de l'école:
2. Nom de l'enseignant(e):
3. Pseudonyme:
4. Poste officiel: Poste informel:
5. Niveau:
6. Années d'expérience:
   a. Total d'années d'expérience en enseignement:
   b. Années d'expérience en tant qu'enseignant(e) dans cette école-ci:
   c. Années d'expérience au niveau que vous enseignez présentement:
7. Formation universitaire:
   a. en français ( ) en anglais( ) autre( )
   a. Nom(s) du(des) programme(s) universitaire(s):
   b. Durée du(des) programme(s):
   c. Diplômé(e) de quelle(s) université(s):
   d. Qualifications additionnelles:
8. Avez-vous déjà suivi des cours de méthologie en langues secondes ou de méthodologie en immersion française? Si oui, combien et à quel endroit?
9. Compétences langagières:
   a. Langue(s) maternelle(s):
   b. Langue(s) seconde(s):
   c. Autre(s) compétence(s) langagière(s) en:
   d. Langue(s) courante(s) à la maison:
10. Province canadienne ou pays d'origine:

11. Préferez-vous fonctionner dans une langue plus qu'une autre? Si oui, laquelle?

12. De façon définitive, vous identifiez-vous avec une culture plus qu'une autre? Si oui, laquelle?

13. Y-a-t-il d'autre(s) information(s) démographique(s) que vous trouvez essentielle(s) à l'étude et que vous aimeriez me fournir? Si oui, la(les)quelle(s)

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT EXTRACT

N: D'accord. Premièrement, j'ai remarqué aussi que tu te tiens beaucoup avec Helena.

C: Oui.

N: Puis, d'après que ce que tu as écrit ici, ce serait une relation plutôt professionnelle.

C: Oui.

N: Puis jusqu'à un certain point, personnelle, mais surtout professionnelle.

C: Professionnelle, oui.

N: Alors, ce qui vous amène ensemble, c'est l'e niveau auquel vous enseignez, puis aussi probablement . . .

C: le français.

N: Le français?

C: Oui, qu'on soit toutes les deux en train d'enseigner le même programme d'immersion, alors.

N: D'accord. Puis, aussi, les locaux sont juste un à côté de l'autre.

C: Oui.

N: Ce qui aide aussi?

C: Oui, beaucoup.

N: D'accord. Peux-tu, en un peu plus de détail, me décrire le genre de choses que vous faites ensemble. J'ai dèjà été témoin . . .

C: Oui.

N: de ce que vous faites un petit peu, mais donne-moi une idée de ce que tu fais d'après ta propre perspective.

C: Ah...

N: Puis quand cette relation a débuté et pourquoi.

C: Bien, on a toutes les deux commencé, on était débutantes l'année passee, puis elle avait déjà enseigné une 2e année, et moi j'avais déja une maternelle, puis on enseignait toutes les deux la première année pour la premiere fois. Alors, ça , tout de suite, ça nous a rapproché beaucoup. Et puis, on a toujours fait des échanges. Ça s'est trouvé qu'Helena avait dit qu'elle n'aimait pas autant enseigné les arts plastiques, alors on avait fait l'échange d'arts plastiques et de sciences. Moi, j'enseignais ses sciences , elle enseignait, non non, moi j'enseignais ses arts plastiques, moi,

j'enseignais ses sciences. Alors, on avait fait l'échange comme ça. Puis, elle joue aussi un instrument de musique. Alors, souvent on va dans sa classe, et puis, on chantait[te] des chansons ensemble, puis avec cet instrument de musique, c'est beaucoup plus plaisant qu'avec ma voix rauque. (Laughter on both parts)

N: Et puis ça, c'était l'année passée, après, le concert de Noel, on était ensemble. Alors, on a chanté nos chansons ensemble. Ah, on a organisé une soirée de parents pour que les parents viennent voir ce qu'on avait fait pendant l'année, alors, moi et elle

N: Juste vous deux?

C: Oui. Nous deux, on s'est mises ensemble. C'était elle qui avait eu l'idée premièrement, puis après, elle s'était trouvée pris[e] avec cette idée-là, puis beaucoup de travail, alors, elle m'a demandé de se joindre à elle puis on a partagé les travaux et puis on a presenté ça ensemble, comme les classes de première année d'immersion. Les parents avaient beaucoup apprécié cela. Et puis c'était juste une soirée pendant laquelle les élèves lisaient des histoires qu'ils avaient faites. Ils faisaient un petit spectacle, des chansons et des choses comme ça. Et puis, surtout les journées de fête, ou des journées différentes comme ça, la, on se mettait ensemble

N: Mmm.

C: pour organiser. Puis, tout au cours de l'année, on s'est toujours partagé des idées.

N: Alors, vous faites des échanges de matériaux, de livres, de disques, n'importe quoi?

C: Oui, puis cette année, on a travailée plus sur l'aspect de la première année et l'aspect du curriculum et des objectifs ensemblelà. Jusqu'à maintenant, on a dépisté ce que les objectifs de première annee étaient. Une fois arrivées au mois de novembre, à quoi on s'attendait des enfants, surtout qu'on a deux niveaux différents. Je ne sais pas si l'on te l'a expliqué, mais moi, j'ai le groupe qui est, tu sais, plus bas...

N: Faible?

C: Oui, et elle a les plus forts comme on a pris les quarante enfants de la maternelle...

N: Oui.

C: On les a tous categorisé comme du plus fort au plus faible

N: Mmm.

C: Et elle a pris la moitié du haut; moi, j'ai pris ceux du bas. Comme ça, il n'y a moins d'écart entre les enfants dans la classe. Alors, maintenant, nous, il faut qu'on trouve un juste milieu pour évaluer les enfants. Autrement, nos perceptions sont assez différentes. Mais, oui, on travaille bien ensemble. Nous sommes très différentes l'une de l'autre quand même, comme dans nos façons de faire dans les classes. Alors, on partage moins comme ça parce que l'on est si différentes.

N: Moins de stratégies d'enseignement...

C: Oui.

N: mais plus de planification.

C: Oui, oui, oui. puis support moral aussi, beaucoup, se parler.

N: A propos de vos élèves ou de ce qui se passe dans l'école?

C: De tout: élèves, école, et même vie personnelle. Juste avoir quelqu'un là à la fin de la journée à qui tu peux te confier et puis te fier.

APPENDIX F

JOURNAL/FIELD NOTES EXTRACT

...

January 21st, 1990

During last 611 class, while we discussing data collection techniques, I was wondering if the use of videotaping would be appropriate at some point during my study. I'll discuss this with Linda. I think that I will need to pilot-test the field notes observation technique as I did not resort to it for my Masters' study (as opposed to interviews with which I feel quite comfortable). I'll have to get a smaller recording device though as some of last year's respondents felt intimidated by the size of my ghetto-blaster!

On Wed., the 17th, got the microfiches from the Ed. library that pertained to the lit. review on "Shared Working Knowledge".

On Tue., the 16th, ran an ERIC search on "O.D."and found some relevant references. I've also found some for my independant study. I am in the process of reading the abstracts and making biblio. notes on index cards.

By the way, thank you for the positive and immediate feedback!

January 24th,1990

Last night, read Guba and Lincoln (1981)'s assigned reading. It proved to be useful as it applies to the interpretive methods of inquiry. Will be able to use some quotes from it for proposal.

Wendy M. gave me an article entitled "Proposals that Work", by Locke, Spirduso and Silverman(1987). One section pertains to the "Preparation of Proposals for Qualitative Research"(pp.83-138). Will have a look at it. She also told me about a book entitled Issues and Participant Observation(1969).McCalls and Simons.

Rita E. gave me the folowing reference: Plart,J.(1981). On interviewing our peers. British Journal of Sociology, 32(1). She said it applied to interviews between university faculty members of differing status. However, who knows, it may have some relevance to the techniques I plan to use for my study.

Received your feedback today (Boy, that was fast!). Thanks. It was encouraging. The issue of costs incurred during study also concerns me. I will talk to Linda about it.

...

March 4th, 1990

The round of impromptu presentations during the Feb. 14th class was very useful in that it made us think of questions or areas which we overlooked in our initial proposal. For example, the thought hadn't even crossed my mind as to what language, English or French, the interviews were going to take place.

During reading week, Feb. 19-23rd, and on Feb. 26th, read and summarized main points

of eleven papers (microfiches). As far as these are concerned, only intend to look at four more. Afterwards, I'll try and locate the twenty journal references that were found through an ERIC search.

On Feb. 27th, wrote critiques of two classmates, Wendy M. and Shreeram L. Shreeram had asked me to be "very critical" of his proposal. I found the exercise relevant and helpful, but did not know how far to go with the comments, and worried about how they would be taken. The next day, showed both Wendy and Shreeram a copy of the comments. Didn' t perceive any probs.

In the afternoon of Wed., March 28th, received a copy of the comments about the first draft of my proposal from Larry K. and Indira G. Had mixed reactions and feelings about what they said. After further reflection (or the "cooling off" period, to be honest with you), I found that some comments were well-founded, some indicated a lack of familiarity or acceptance of the naturalistic inquiry approach, some still were made on unfounded assumptions, and finally others were very relevant and triggered off some new ideas. So in the end, it was a good thing . . .

To me, the comment made in relation to the definition of "Francophone" was irrelevant. In making it, Larry assumed that I was going to use it in order teachers to refer to ANY French Immersion teacher in the study. That is not so; to my knowledge, I did not indicate that anywhere in the proposal. I am very aware that some F.I. teachers are Anglophone. The use of the term "Francophone" ALONE does not automatically mean I will refer to teachers first of all, and second, that I will be excluding <u>non-francophone F.I. teachers</u> in the study. The terms Francophone or non-Francophone could be used to describe SOME principals, teachers, students, or parents.

Both Larry and Indira found the aspect of the data collection methods, techniques and instruments "sketchy" and even "neglected". Although I will be referring to some of the lirerature on the research design and data collection techniques in more depth in the second draft of my proposal, I don' t know what else to include to indicate the techniques I will employ in the study. It seems to me that stating that I will be doing extended on-site visits to the school(s), take field notes and conduct semi-structured interviews are all indications of the techniques that I plan to use for the study. If I may ask, what do you think? Is that enough?

Indira' s comment on the low congruence between the purpose of the study (the role of the F.I. teacher) and the research question (shared working knowledge between F.I. teachers was extremely helpful. Already, Linda had expressed some difficulty with the term "role". When talking to another committee member, Dr Margaret Haughey, she too had problems with the word "role". Because of Linda' s comment early on during the execution of the draft of the proposal, I then chose to use among some suggested terms, the notion of "shared working knowledge". However, limiting the research question to this excludes the possibility of finding out about other meanings that the F.I. teacher gives to their "professional being". Therefore, in a one and a half hour spontaneous conversation with Margaret on Thu., March 1st, we discussed this concern. In the end, the following questions were suggested/discussed:

The problem statement could be: What does it mean (for someone) to be a French immersion teacher in a dual-track school?

The supporting research questions which would guide the research study could be:

1. How does the teacher learn to be a French Immersion teacher in this particular setting?

2. How do French Immersion teachers develop shared working knowledge in a French Immersion school?

3. How does the French Immersion teacher work with others in establishing a shared meaning in a dual-track school.

The last question would encompass the professional relationship between the Anglophone principal and the F.I. teacher. It would touch on questions such as how the F.I. teacher assist Anglo principals in dual-track schools, etc.

I feel happier with these questions, although there still may be subject to more modifications in the future. The scope of the newly proposed questions is wider than with the previous questions in the first draft.

Another suggestion made by Margaret is that I plan to study two groups of F.I. teachers at two different locations for the purposes of a pilot study and/or for additional information in relation to "determin[ing] if there are any variance in responses between two schools". Although it will be more time-consuming, I think it would make a lot of sense to do this. I could decide at a later date how intensely and how frequently I would visit one staff over an other depending on the extent of the variance in findings, and which data I would use or omit for which purposes (i.e., Would I use data from one school only, for piloting purposes, or would I, in fact, use some data from one school to support/contradict data found at main school studied, or again would I use data from both school in an even fashion?)

For the sake of clarification, I plan to work with ALL willing French Immersion teachers only at two dual-track shools administered by Anglophone administrators. I want to interview all of them and hopefully chat, tag along, etc. any teachers that invite me to do so.

Another matter is that of an ethnographic research. Both Larry and Ken Ward, another committee member, alluded to it in relation to my study. In fact, Ken lent me Dobbert' s (1982) book entitled *Ethnographic Research: theory and application for modern shools and societies.*. As I had mentioned earlier in the study, I did not think that a ten-month case study would be long enough to be considered along with other factors such as richness of info. etc. an ethnography. I' ll have to do more reading on it. However, Margaret may have helped in solving my problem by referring to my research not as an ethnography, but as a case study using ethnographic research strategies.

The more I read for the purposes of the lit. review, the more I think of the possibility of doing a conceptual framework. Themes/headings that are emerging from the readings are the following: TRUST, teacher autonomy, collegiality/team-teaching/coaching, school culture, socialization of teachers, control of the principal and/or the supervisor, decision-making, commitment (on the part of the organization in terms of time, money, etc.), etc. These themes could potentially impact other constructs in relation to the meanings that F.I. teachers attribute to what they do in dual-track schools.

In terms of the lit. review, Margaret suggested that I go further then relay what various authors have said on the subject, but that I go a step further and raise pertinent questions about what I read and plan to study. She also proposed that I write either in my journal and/or a chapter of the dissertation, an account of what it was like for me to be/learn how to be a French Immersion teacher in a dual-track school in Alberta. This would be a way for me to disclose/convey and recognize some of my biases and experiences about the research question. The idea seems appealing to me. What do you think?

The talk I had with Margaret was very inspiring and gave me a sense of excitement in regard to what I am doing here. She encouraged me to be myself (not in so many words, though) and alluded to what I was doing as "Telling the story of what it means to be a French Immersion teacher in a dual-track school, a true story".

Before I forget, I' d like to ask you for any suggestions/recommendations about a potential committee member from Faculté St-Jean. I believe that you know and have worked with some professors from there. I know very few and would like your input in regard to this matter. I have read and heard a little about Claudette Tardif. Would you happen to know what her research interests and so on are. Do you know of anyone else? As it stands now, my committee members are Linda, Margaret, Ken, and Gordon (McIntosh).

Other stuff went through my head, but I think I wrote about the important points.

. . .

November 27, 1990

Journal Notes--7:00 p. m.

I am very happy I decided to spend blocks of time in each schoolas both teachers and myself feel more comfortable with me being around the school.

Talked to C" T" about my independent course 691. She will mark it as I[ncomplete], and has no problem with me concentrating on my study before Christmas.

I was a little surprised at how open most teachers were toward me today since my first encounters with them were tense.

Principal Benjamin is very smiley and seems to be kind. This feeling I have about him has been reinforced by the comments made by Monique, Noëlle, and Yves.

Feel more relaxed. More ready to go with the flow.

. . .

VITA

NAME: Nicole Marie Lamarre

PLACE OF BIRTH: Québec City, Québec

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1960

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION: Master of Education, University of Alberta, 1989

B. A./B. ED., Queen's university, 1982

RELATED WORK EXPERIENCE: 9 years as a French Immersion Teacher in Alberta: Edmonton Public Schools, 1987-1988 and 1991 to present, Wetaskiwin Public Schools, 1983-1987, and Grande Prairie Catholic Schools, 1982-1983

3 years as a Faculty Researcher, Faculty Consultant and/or Faculty Instructor, Department of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, 1988-1991

Part-time "Chargée de cours" [Sessional Lecturer] at Faculté Saint-Jean, Université de l'Alberta, Fall 1993

District Marker, Grade 6 Social Studies Achievement Tests , Edmonton Public Schools, June 1993 and July 1994

Provincial Marker, Grade 6 Mathematics Performance Based Assessment Tasks, Alberta Education, August & October 1994

Co-writer, Group Leader and Provincial Marker, Grade 6 French Language Arts provincial exam, Alberta Education, Summer 1992

PUBLICATIONS:

Lamarre, N. & Lavigne, G. (Fall, 1994). *Echantillons du travail écrit des élèves: Français 6e année, juin 1992*, Student Evaluation Branch, Edmonton, Alberta.

Lamarre, N. & Umpleby, S. (November 1991). Careers in Educational Administration. *The Canadian Administrator*, Department of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

Editor of Alberta *Canadian Parents for French* publications, 1983-1985

Mais ce n'est pas facile de travailler en contexte d'immersion, je pense, parce que l'on est laissé beaucoup à nous-mêmes.

(Ursula, Red Cedar School)